Richard Smith

Wirst English Settler of the Narragansett Country, Rhode Island



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Richard Smith

First English Settler of the Narragansett Country Rhode Island



J.H.W. 1953 FEB 25 1950 Richard Smith

> First English Settler of the Narragansett Country, Rhode Island

With a Series of Letters written by his Son Richard Smith, Jr., to members of the Winthrop Family and Notes on Cocumscussuc, Smith's Estate in Narragansett

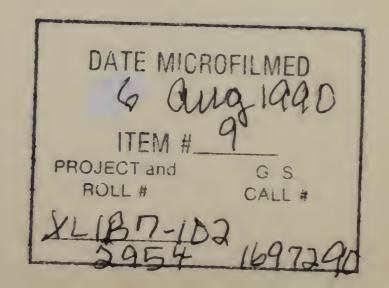
By DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE

With Illustrations from Drawings by Edmund Hort New



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER ELISABETH BIGELOW UPDIKE WHOSE LIFE EXEMPLIFIED THE ANTIQUE VIRTUES OF PATIENCE, PRUDENCE, TEMPERANCE AND FORTITUDE



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Introduction

HESE sketches of the Smiths owe their existence to my mother, who, many years ago, amused herself during the New England winter days which kept her a prisoner at the fireside by extricating from the past their shadowy figures. No one but myself knows how many dull and dusty books she patiently explored to bring to light the facts now recorded here or utilized by others elsewhere. Her efforts not only were the means of "discovering" far more than we expected, but led me, in later years, to know the beauty of the Cotswold Hills and the Severn Valley. It is significant that near Smith's English birthplace, on the crest of Nibley Knoll, now stands a cenotaph to a native of Gloucestershire, William Tyndale, translator of the New Testament into English, erected in honour of that "soul liberty" which Richard Smith himself wandered so far afield to seek.

There existed, some years ago (almost within a stone's throw of my own dwelling at that moment), a collection of letters written by Richard Smith the younger to members of the Winthrop family; and I am indebted to the kindness of the late Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., for copies of the originals, sent me in return for a slight service performed for him in connection with the Bowdoin family, from whom we both traced descent. These are here printed for the first time, by permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whom later Mr. Winthrop left them. I am also under obligations to the late Mr. H. P. Alexander, of Geneva, Illinois—a descendant of Richard Smith, Sr., through his grandson, James Newton—for the records of Smith's marriage and of the baptisms of his children

at Thornbury. My old friend, the late Edmund New, of Oxford, provided the delightful drawings of Thornbury and its church and castle. For the opportunity to make a drawing of the latter edifice from the most interesting point of view, he was indebted to the owner, Algar Henry Stafford Howard, Esq., a descendant of its builder.

In completing what embodies the desultory labours of more years than I care to count, I am paying a debt to my own forebears of Narragansett, who—a part of that life—have helped to preserve its traditions. My grandfather, Wilkins Updike, amid the many occupations of a busy career, was passionately interested—it is not too strong a phrase—in recording and perpetuating the annals of his state and county. The manuscript of a paper that he read—probably that entitled "Early History of Narragansett"—before the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1846 shows how deeply he felt about the matter, for he was not at all a Laodicean in his views of things or people. He says:

"There are efforts making throughout the country to rescue from oblivion the early facts connected with our history. Public attention is awakened to its importance in a literary as well as a historic point of view. The apathy that pervaded our immediate predecessors demands at this time a redoubled industry to save from the general wreck the little that now remains to be collected from authentic resources; and that little may avail the future historian and biographer much in correctly transmitting to posterity the early history of the state. Ancient events and facts of importance now fruitful in their effects upon us have transpired, but their origin and the incidents from which they arose, have been so imperfectly chronicled, or noted not at all, that we are left in mere conjecture to seek out the causes

and reasons that produced them. Our early institutions, being so different from those of the adjoining states, have causes from which they sprang; and many facts connected with those causes yet exist, and may be elicited by future research. Much has been added to the general stock already by recent industry, and there is no reason to despair but that other gleanings may be further added by continued investigation.... There are minds enough and matter enough, and energy and industry are only wanting. One waits for the movements of another, and if delay is indulged in but a little longer, every memorial and tradition that can now be preserved will be lost forever. If we say that our fathers, with all their materials at their hands, have been negligent, careless and indifferent to their preservation, what will the succeeding generation or posterity say of us? We need not be startled if our history and the times in which we lived shall be written with Spartan brevity: that we were born, we breathed and died, but left no trace of a memorial of the land in which our bodies slumber...

"And when it is taken into consideration that no part of this state, and probably no part of New England, is more fertile in incidents or celebrated for distinguished events illustrative of aboriginal history than the Narragansett country, we cannot but feel impressed with an absorbing anxiety to afford our share to the general stock of information so much sought and desired. The Narragansett country—and subsequently the King's Province, it must be recollected—was a separate and independent jurisdiction from Rhode Island or Providence. From the period of Richard Smith (who was the first white man that put his foot on the Narragansett soil) to the present time, only two

persons, and one within a few years resident in it, have attempted to furnish one single page in giving to the public a sketch of its country. It has not arisen from the want of talent or from the barrenness of the subject, that it has been omitted, but from indolence—the most blameable indolence. Valuable documents have been suffered to be lost, interesting traditions have been unrecorded, and the evidence of a fugitive character has never been duly secured and preserved. Within the period of forty years, documents and materials were in existence amply sufficient to have given to the public a tolerably correct if not a full history of this interesting portion of the state. But if such has been the destruction of historic evidence and the loss of traditions and biographical facts by the decease of wellinformed individuals resident among us, what will remain in a like period to come? Nothing!"

What the writer of these words did, and what has since been done, towards remedying this may be recorded here. Mr. Updike's Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar preserved the memories of the older race of Rhode Island lawyers, but his chief work is the History of the Narragansett Church, a storehouse of Narragansett history and anecdote. I remember the late Professor William Gammell telling of my grandfather's bringing the manuscript of this work (done up in an enormous bandanna handkerchief) to him for consultation as to how it could be published—a feat brought about largely through the generous subscription of Mr. Updike's relative, Professor William Giles Goddard, as the publication of a later edition was made possible for me chiefly through the aid of the late Mr. Moses B. I. Goddard, his son. The History, when it appeared in 1847, had

defects of production extremely vexatious and disappointing to the author; but the effect of its publication was to arouse interest in the history of the Narragansett country as well as in the Colonial Church in Rhode Island. It was partly due to this book that the monument to Dr. James MacSparran, Colonial rector of St. Paul's, was erected in 1869. To the "unveiling" of this memorial, on an exceedingly hot summer's day, I was taken when a very little boy, and was mightily astonished at the descending shroud of tarpaulin, which was not my idea of a veil. The dedication of this monument was followed, long after my grandfather's death in 1867, by the discovery of the manuscript of Dr. MacSparran's Diary and Letter-Book; and a transcript of this diary, annotated by Dr. Goodwin, I published in 1899. Later, in 1907, the History of the Narragansett Church was reissued in a form such as the author would have desired, and with extraordinarily thorough and careful annotations by Dr. Goodwin, which have doubled the value of the original book. Through the kindness of a few friends, all the inscriptions on the stones in the ancient burying-ground at the original site of old St. Paul's, and in that surrounding the old church in its present location, have been copied and recorded in printed form; and the present pages finish a task that I proposed to myself many years ago. Furthermore, it has been a pleasant duty to print from time to time at the Merrymount Press related material for others: Caroline Robinson's The Hazard Family of Rhode Island, an illustrated edition of Thomas Robinson Hazard's Jonny-Cake Papers, a Memorial of the Swamp Fight, Nailer Tom's Diary, covering the years 1778 to 1840, with an introduction by my kinswoman, Miss Caroline Hazard, South County Studies by the late Esther

Bernon Carpenter, William Davis Miller's Silversmiths of Little Rest, an illustrated publication for the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Dames, Old Houses of the South County, and Norman Isham's architectural study, Trinity Church, Newport, written by a dweller in the South County, and an authority on its history. These and Miss Hazard's books Anchors of Tradition and John Saffin's Note-Book and Mr. H. L. Koopman's volume on the Narragansett country (all printed elsewhere) chronicle a no less characteristic side of life in Narragansett, while many South County houses are illustrated and described in Antoinette F. Downing's Early Homes of Rhode Island. Those who may be skeptical about the peculiar social and economic conditions in eighteenth century Narragansett should consult a brief monograph written by the late Dr. Edward Channing in 1886 entitled The Narragansett Planters, A Study of Causes, which the author began with the intention of destroying a legend, but on investigation felt it necessary to confirm a fact. Mr. Miller's more comprehensive consideration of the same subject in The Narragansett Planters was published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society and his paper on Joseph Torrey and his Record Book of Marriages in the Rhode Island Historical Society's Collections. Indeed, it is through the kind co-operation of Mr. Miller and Mr. Henry Dexter Sharpe that the present contribution to Rhode Island history has been printed.

Chiefly through the efforts of the late Rev. Daniel Goodwin, sometime rector of St. Paul's parish, and the later help of parishioners and generous friends, the structure of the Old Narragansett Church has been repaired, its pulpit, altar-piece, and other interior fittings restored to their original condition, a convenient sacristy, conso-

nant in style with the building, added to it, and the building itself entrusted in perpetuity to the keeping of the Diocese of Rhode Island. Finally, in recent years, the careful restoration of the romantically situated birth-place of Gilbert Stuart suggests one more pilgrimage to those who cherish the traditions of southern Rhode Island.

To-day, when the whole extent of the King's Province and Narragansett—a name now generally identified with a modern watering-place—may be traversed and re-traversed in a morning, it requires some imagination to believe that a territory so distinct, with its peculiar traditions, customs, and annals, ever existed at all. But while, perhaps, too much has been recorded to permit this to be forgotten, these pages may still add something to the fabric of South County history. The annals of that countryside are of no great importance; the countryside itself is of no great extent, yet,

"God gives all men all earth to love,
But, since man's heart is small,
Ordains for each one spot shall prove
Beloved over all."

DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE

Boston, Midsummer Day, 1937



Richard Smith, Senior



Richard Smith, Senior

c. 1596-1666

Queen—titles that appear less accurately descriptive of that lady now than they did then—Richard Smith, the subject of this sketch, was born, probably about 1596, presumably in the Gloucestershire village of Thornbury. Neither his father's Christian name nor that of his mother do we know—though it is perhaps more than likely that they were John and Katherine. He probably came of a line of gentleman-farmers long settled in that neighbourhood. Years later he was described as "of gentle blood" and of an ancient family of those parts; and the fact that he bore arms would seem to imply some pretentions to gentility. But I fancy he belonged as much among the farmers as the gentry—in all likelihood a scion of a good but decayed family.

As is the common manner of men when reaching man's estate, this Richard Smith took unto himself a wife, the daughter of a family of Thornbury or thereabouts named Barton. The connection with this family is confirmed by a letter written many years later from Rhode Island by the younger Richard Smith to his uncle William Barton at Morton or Moreton, Gloucestershire, a hamlet only about a mile from Thornbury Church and about six miles from Nibley. It will be noted below that Richard Smith, Jr.'s elder sister Joan numbered William Barton (probably the uncle alluded to) among her sponsors or witnesses at baptism. Smith's marriage is recorded in the register of Thornbury Church, as follows: "Richard Smyth and Johan Barton 28 May 1621." Of this marriage were born five children: two sons, James and Richard, and three daughters, Joan, Katherine, and Elizabeth. In the Baptismal Register of Thornbury there are the following entries, which may or may not be those relating to these five children, though the date of

¹ Phillimore's Register of Thornbury, Vol. xv, Gloucestershire Series.

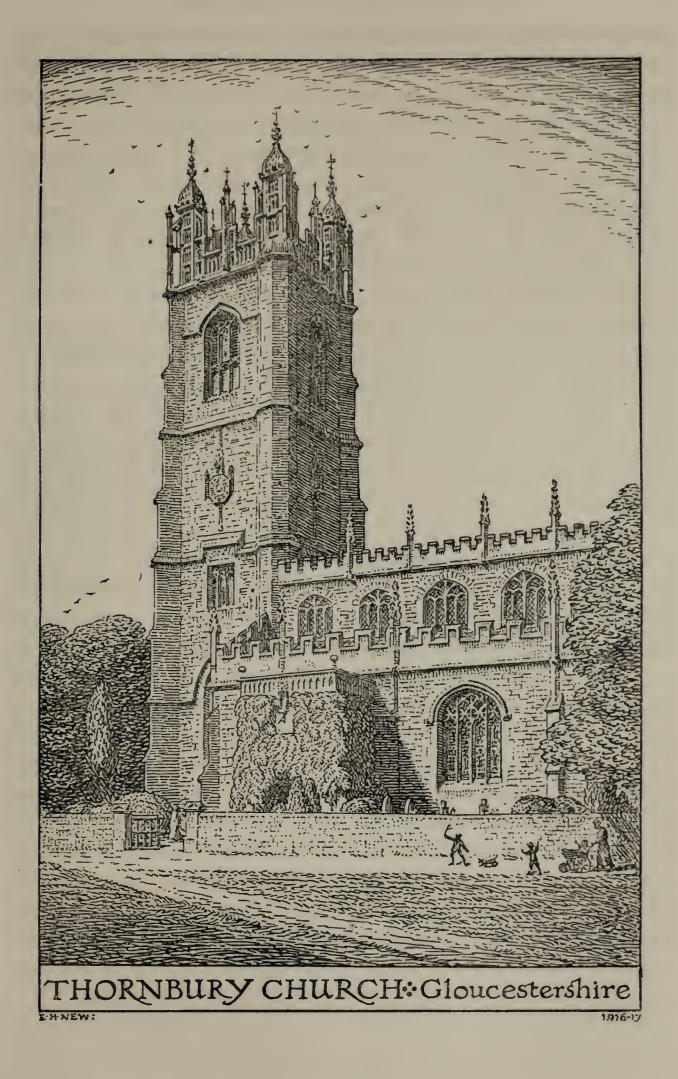
baptism of Joan Smith is probably correct as William Barton appears as sponsor, and the date of Richard's birth is generally accepted as 1630.

JANUARY	Johan Smyth was baptized
	Witnesses: William Barton, John Smyth and
	Katheren Smyth
August	Katheryne Smyth was baptized
	Witnesses: Richard Dallansay (?) Thomas
	Vidder and Katheryn Selman
DECEMBER	James Smyth was baptized
DECEMBER	Richard Smith was baptized
	Witnesses: Guy Andrews, Lydia Brewton and
	Johan Mortimore
March 18	Elizabeth Smith was baptized ¹
	December

It has been a constant effort for the race of Smiths to adopt some particular cognomen that should set them apart from all other Smiths who perambulate this painful earth. Some have been helped by their trade—and we have Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, and the like. Others, in later periods, have precariously raised themselves above their fellows by means of a slender hyphen, which attached their name to one more distinctive and high sounding. But with our Smith—in England uniformly spelled Smyth, the *i* being substituted for a *y* only in New England—no such assistance was available. Even his Christian name gave him no help! It is true that he bore arms, and that these are unlike the arms of any other Smith in England. Nevertheless, even thus handicapped, he attained a modest eminence. Had this name been Stafford or Sudeley or Fitz Hardinge, he would no doubt have attained more.

But there was, as it happens, a somewhat distinguished family of Smyths then living near Thornbury—of Leicestershire descent, but who had made, by the time of which I write, a considerable place for themselves in the county of Gloucester. The outstanding member of the family was John Smyth, born about

¹ Mr. J. O. Austin, who gives no date of birth except Richard's, places these children in a different order, i.e., Richard, James, Elizabeth, Joan, and Katherine. See his *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, under "Richard Smith."





1567, who was brought as a lad to Callowden, where the Berkeleys lived, to be (with one of the family of Lygon of Madresfield Court, Malvern, Worcestershire) companion and schoolmate—and perhaps whipping-boy—to Thomas, nine-year-old son and heir of the seventeenth Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle. The three lads studied under the same tutor, and later passed three years together as students at Magdalen College, Oxford. When the time came for them to go their several ways in life Smyth became a student of common law at the Middle Temple, London. Later, he secured (probably directly by the Fitz Hardinge interest) the important post of steward of the Hundred of Berkeley. This position he held for fifty years, greatly to the advantage of the Berkeleys and, incidentally, to himself. He lived at Nibley, a village about six miles from Berkeley and seven miles from Thornbury; and was twice married, having by his second wife—a descendant from the Olympian family of his patron—five sons and three daughters. His devotion to this great family led him to compile with infinite particularity and skill a remarkable work: The Lives of the Berkeleys, Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley, in the County of Gloucester, from 1066 to 1618, with a Description of the Hundred of Berkeley and of its Inhabitants. This book will always ensure his remembrance among antiquaries.

This John Smyth of Nibley had a son John, born September 8, 1611, and a son Thomas, both of his first marriage. This second John Smyth died at North Nibley, September 17, 1692, in his eighty-second year, having lived to behold seventy-seven "lawful descendants"—we trust there were no others! To him we find Richard Smith the younger writing from Narragansett in 1669, on friendly—even intimate—terms. The grandson, George Smith, possessed two seats in the neighbourhood, and a large plate showing the one at Nibley may be seen in the second edition of Atkyn's Ancient and Present State of Glocestershire.

Whether there was, earlier, any connection between the two families, I know not. But in the pedigree of Smyth of Nibley, Willmus Smith de Humberstone in Com-Lincoln is given as having two sons: "Richard Smith, eldest sonne, who hath

son. The pedigree of the eldest son, Richard, is not carried out, but that of his brother Thomas, who married "Joane, daughter of Richard Alan of Derbie," is given at length. It was of this marriage that "John Smyth of Nibley in Com-Gloucester" was born. His father's elder brother, Richard Smith, may have been an ancestor of our Richard, but so far as we know no relationship between the Thornbury and Nibley Smyths exists. So much for the family of Richard Smith.

The county of Gloucester, in which Thornbury lies, is, like Gaul, divided into three parts. To the east are the Cotswold hills, which rise to a considerable height; below is the valley of the Severn, a strip of more fertile and wooded country extending some few miles from the base of the Cotswolds to that river; and across the Severn lies the Forest of Dean, backed by the hills of Monmouthshire. The country affords, to my mind, some of the sweetest rural scenery in England—a part of that "blest isle" that has remained to this day singularly unchanged. The Cotswold villages, with their stone farmhouses and manors and churches, are set down in a country something like parts of our own Vermont. It is a country having that particularly intimate and "nooky" quality which gives to a New Englander something akin to homesickness for what is not his home—"the deep yearning which a sensitive American—his mind full of English thoughts, his imagination of English poetry, his heart of English character and sentiment—cannot fail to be influenced by,—the yearning of the blood within his veins for that from which it has been estranged; the half-fanciful regret that he should ever have been separated from these woods, these fields, these natural features of scenery, to which his nature was

¹ See pedigree of the Smyths of Nibley, in Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, published by Gloucester-Bristol Archæological Society, Gloucester, 1883.

² Smyth of Nibley bears the following arms: sable on a chevron engrailed between six crosses formée fitchée or as many fleurs-de-lis azure (1543). The arms of Smith of Thornbury are: a chevron between three foxes' or leopards' heads (tinctures uncertain); crest: a fleur-de-lis.

moulded, from the men who are still so like himself, from these habits of life and thought which (though he may not have known them for two centuries) he still perceives to have remained in some mysterious way latent in the depths of his character, and soon to be reassumed, not as a foreigner would do it, but like habits native to him, and only suspended for a season."

In the foreword to his Cotswold Characters, John Drinkwater says: "The Cotswold country is, as I think, the most beautiful in England. Not that it is by nature more lovely than that which, perhaps, any country can show. It is a commonplace to us who know this small country of ours that there is hardly any stretch of twenty miles in it which does not flatter us in the belief that there is no more tender or subtle landscape on earth. But the Cotswolds, especially in the more secluded corners, have the added glory of an almost unbroken tradition of character and of building. The country is high up above the great Stroud valley, the neighborhood of the famous wool-staplers of the sixteenth century, when the Cotswold flocks brought those merchants to a prosperity which they spent partly making themselves noble dwelling-places out of the lovely Cotswold stone. The country then bred a great race of masons, and the stock has never died out. I am myself the tenant of a small cottage on a byway that is passed by a stranger hardly once in a week. It is four rooms big. Eighty years ago two of them were built by a local craftsman who knew neither better nor worse than his ancestors nearly three hundred years back. And then ten years ago my present landlord added the other two, and he, again, worked with the same unquestioning and perfect mastery. So it is that the whole countryside is covered with an architecture which has never lost its vitality. It is not a question of copying with skill a fine tradition gone by. Here we have, rather, the real life which consists of a personal contribution to a tradition that has never died out. And, as it is in the building, which from the great manor house down to the pigsties has an equal dignity because of this unbroken succession of life, so it is with the

¹ Hawthorne in Doctor Grimshaw's Secret.

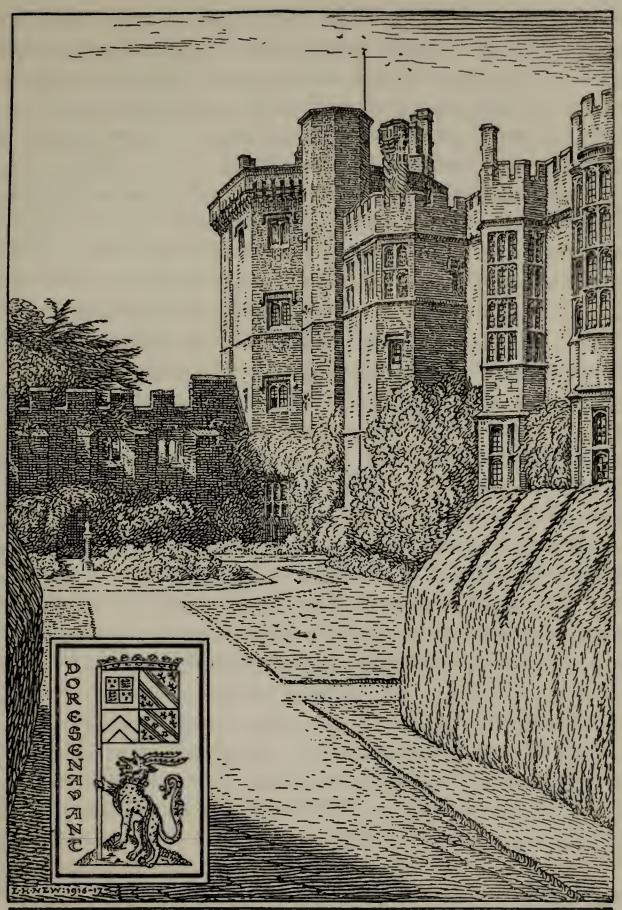
character of the people. The Cotswold yeoman is as unoriginal and as new and vital as an oak tree or a starry night."

This was written of the Cotswolds, and Richard Smith lived only a few miles from the Severn; but though the vale is different from the hills, the charm is much the same.

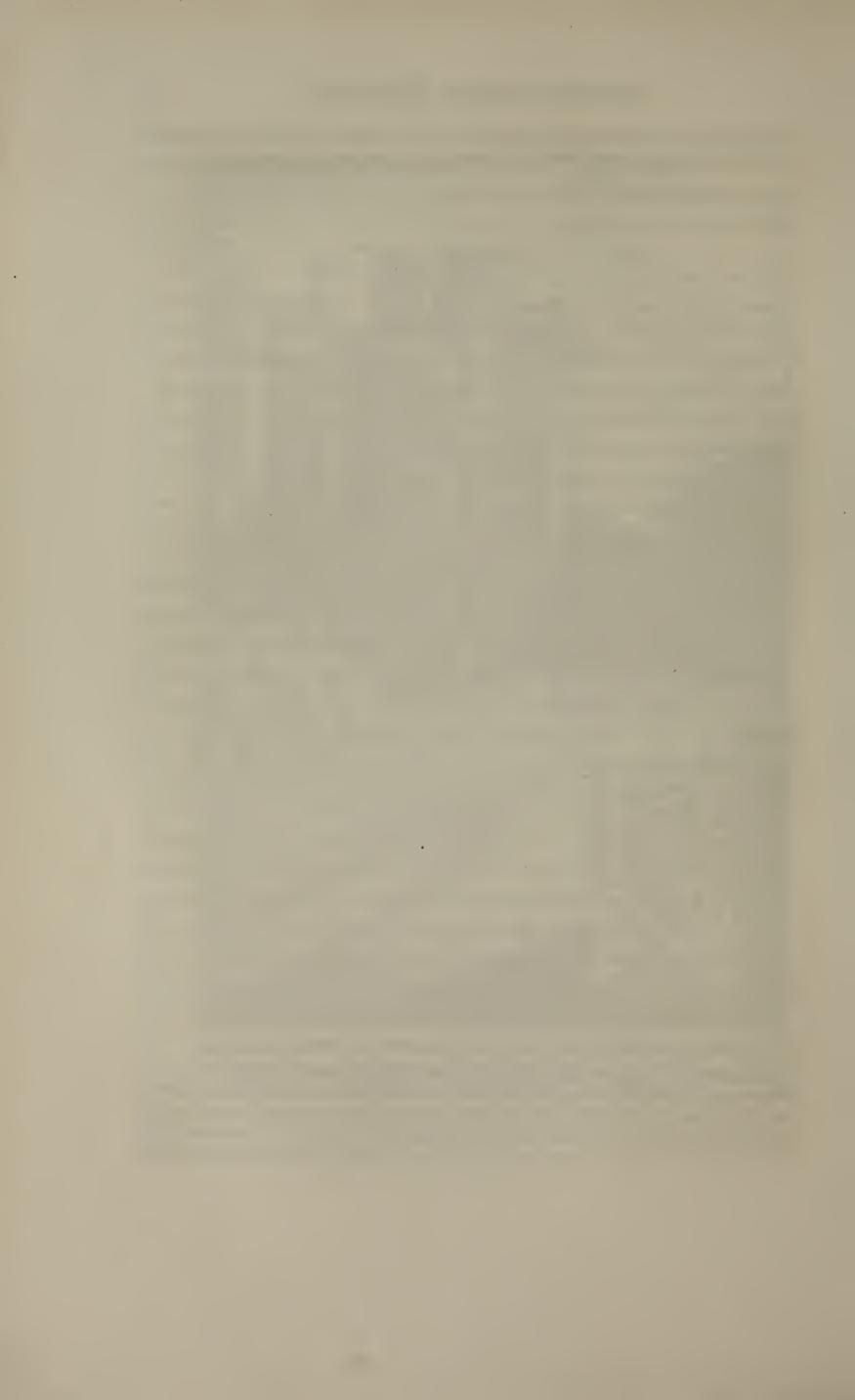
Thornbury itself is a pleasant, old-fashioned town, with its broad High Street, containing some old houses. It is something over a hundred miles from London, twenty-four miles from Gloucester, and about eight from Bristol. The parish of Thornbury and its dependent villages contains perhaps 3,000 people. But the glory of the place is its splendid church and imposing, though unfinished, castle. The church, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, has a chancel dating from about 1340, and the rest of it belongs to the close of the fifteenth century, though the tower may be a little later. It has a nave, chancel, north and south aisles, with chapels at the end of each—one of which is now occupied by the organ. The Norman font is of some archæological celebrity. From this font Richard Smith's children were probably baptized. But a glance at Edmund New's drawing of the church does away with the need of further description.1

The castle was begun by Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham (1478–1521) in the second year of Henry VIII's reign, and was intended to be a very magnificent building. But the suspicions of Henry VIII, fomented by Cardinal Wolsey—with whom the Duke had a quarrel—ended in Stafford's attainder and execution in 1521; so the building remained unfinished. Stafford's possessions were seized by the Crown, and the castle was restored to his son only in Queen Mary's reign; and in the intervening years no doubt the fabric suffered. Leland, who visited the castle about twenty years later, gives, in his *Itinerary*, the following account of it:

An interesting little book, *History of Thornbury Church and Castle*, with illustrations, printed and published by A. Prewett, High Street, Thornbury, contains a good deal of historical matter about these two buildings. For an eighteenth century account of Thornbury see Atkyn's *Ancient and Present State of Glocestershire*, Second Edition, London, 1768, p. 400 et seq.



THORNBURY (ASTLE: Gloucestershire: begun byo Edward Stafford, Duke of BuckinghamA:D:1511.



"There was of aunciente tyme a maner place, but of no great estimacion, hard by the Northe syde of the Paroche Churche. Edward, late Duke of Bukkyngham likynge the soyle aboute, and the site of the Howse, pullyd downe a greate parte of the olde Howse and sette up magnificently in good squared Stone, the Southe syde of it, and accomplished the West Parte also withe a right comely Gate-Howse to the first soyle; and so it stondithe yet with a Rofe forced for a tyme. This inscription on the Fronte of the Gate Howse: Thys Gate was begon in the Yere of owre Lorde Gode MCCCCCXI. the ii. Yere of the Reyne of Kynge Henri the viii. by me, Edw. Duc. of Bukynghā, Erlle of Herfode, Stafforde ande Northamptō.

"The Duke's Worde 'Doresenavant'.

"The foundation of a very spacious base Courte was there begon, and certeyne gates, and Towres in it Castelle lyke. It is of a iiii or v yardes highe, and so remaynithe a token of a noble peace of works purposid. There was a Galery of Tymbre in the Bake syde of the Howse joyning to the North syde of the Paroche Churche. Edward Duke of Bukkyngham made a fayre Parke hard by the Castle, and tooke muche faire grownd in it very frutefull of Corne, now fayr launds for Coursynge. The inhabitants cursyd the Duke for thes lands so incloyed. There cummithe an Armelet of Sevrne ebbynge and flowyng into this Parke. Duke Edward had thought to have trenchyd there, and to have brought it up to the Castle."

An account of this mansion as it appeared at the end of Elizabeth's reign, or in the earliest years of that of James I, is contained in the 1770 edition of Leland's *Collectanea*. Horace Walpole, writing to the Rev. William Cole in August, 1774, from Matson, near Gloucester, describes a visit to the castle, and an amusing encounter he had there.

"From Berkeley Castle I went to Thornbury, of which the ruins are half ruined. It would have been glorious, if finished—

¹ Six views of Thornbury Castle drawn about 30 years after Walpole saw it, while it was still in a ruinous state, are shown in Samuel Lyson's folio *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, London, 1804, plates 80–85. The font in Thornbury Church is also shown on plate 107.

I wish the Lords of Berkeley had retained the spirit of deposing till Harry the VIIIth's time! The situation is fine, though that was not the fashion, for all the windows of the great apartment look into the inner court—the prospect was left to the servants. Here I had two adventures. I could find nobody to show me about. I saw a paltry house that I took for the sexton's, at the corner of the close, and bade my servant ring and ask who could show me the castle. A voice in a passion flew from a casement, and issued from a divine—'What! was it his business to show the castle? Go look for somebody else! What did the fellow ring for, as if the house was on fire?' The poor Swiss came back in a fright, and said the doctor had sworn at him. Well! we scrambled over a stone stile, saw a room or two glazed near the gate, and rung at it. A damsel came forth, and satisfied our curiosity. When we had done seeing, I said, 'Child, we don't know our way, and want to be directed into the London road: I see the Duke's2 steward yonder at the window; pray desire him to come to me, that I may consult him.' She went, he stood staring at us at the window—and sent his footman. I do not think courtesy is resident at Thornbury. As I returned through the close, the divine came running out of breath, and without his beaver or bands, and calls out, 'Sir, I am come to justify myself; your servant says I swore at him, I am no swearer—Lord bless me! (dropping his voice) is it Mr. Walpole?' 'Yes, Sir, and I think you was Lord Beauchamp's3 tutor at Oxford, but I have forgot your name.'—'Holwell, Sir.' 'Oh yes—' and then I comforted him, and laid the ill-breeding on my footman's being a foreigner, but could not help saying, I really had taken his house for the sexton's.—'Yes, Sir, it is not very good without, won't you please to walk in?' I did, and found the inside ten times worse, and a lean wife, suckling a child. He was making an index to Homer, is going to publish the chief beauties, and I believe had just been reading some

In allusion to the murder of Edward II at Berkeley Castle, with the connivance of that family.

² The Duke of Norfolk, who bought the castle from the fourth Earl of Stafford.

³ Head of the Lygon family, alluded to on page 5.

of the delicate civilities that pass between Agamemnon and Achilles, and that what my servant took for oaths were only Greek compliments."

Gloucestershire was always, it appears, of a religious and scrupulous complexion, and the old proverb, "As sure as God's in Gloucestershire" alluded to the great number of churches and religious houses in that county prior to the Reformation. But over and above such establishment, there would seem to be an inherent interest taken in religious movements, whether favourable or unfavourable to the orthodox way of thinking. The teaching of Wycliffe and some of his chief followers among the Lollards made itself felt in Gloucestershire, at the end of the fourteenth century. Between 1500 and 1550, these opinions—not then explicitly Protestant, but implicitly so—were not uncommon among the lower classes. William Tyndale was in 1520 resident in the county as tutor to a family at Little Sodbury, and preached in that neighbourhood and at Bristol. Bishop Latimer, who also had a hand in bringing about the popularity of reformed opinion, was appointed Bishop of Worcester in 1535. It was during his episcopate that the dissolution of the monasteries began, and, to his credit, he suggested that in every county a few foundations should be spared for teaching, preaching, and study. John Hooper, consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in 1551, was a man extremely imbued with the views of Continental divines, and he insisted that his clergy conform to his personal views, which involved the dismantling of altars and the abolition of certain ceremonial and liturgical observances. He suffered punishment by fire under Mary, who did what she could to restore matters to their previous condition. On Elizabeth's accession, we find those called Puritans refusing to frequent the parish churches; and in the early years of the seventeenth century, Puritan views spread throughout the county, and in many Gloucestershire villages the arrangements of the chancels were further altered to conform to Puritan opinion. Thornbury had a Puritan vicar, John

I The Beauties of Homer, selected from the Iliad, published in 1775.

Sprint, who was induced to conform to Anglican usages through the offices of Burton, Archdeacon of Gloucester. And it was just about that time that James I was told that "scarce ever a church in England was so ill-governed and so much out of order as Gloucester," with the result that in 1616 William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to look into and reform the administration of this cathedral, to the great dissatisfaction of the Puritan party. During the years before the Rebellion, the see of Gloucester was ruled by Bishop Gauder, a prelate of Catholic principles, who, together with Laud, was tried in 1640, though he escaped Laud's fate. Gloucestershire was among the eleven English counties which petitioned Parliament for the abolition of episcopacy in 1641, by which year the clergy of the Church were being deprived of their livings. Two years later at Dursley—a market-town not far from Thornbury—the Presbyterian directory for public worship was enforced, the communion rails destroyed, a table in the nave took the place of an altar at the east end of the chancel, the surplice was abandoned, and a pewter salver and bowl were substituted for the old double-gilt chalice. Fonts were screwed up, and for baptism a basin was substituted. Old painted glass was taken out of churches and the well-known and magnificent windows now at Fairford were saved only by being hidden.

It was from this background, a turmoil of conflicting religious opinions and practice, that Richard Smith decided to "seek peace and ensue it" in New England. It would appear probable that Smith lent a too-ready ear to one of the neighbouring non-conforming clergy, in the person of Francis Doughty, son of a certain Francis Doughtie of Bristol and Hampstead Farm, in the parish of Oldsbury—possibly Oldbury, a village two miles from Thornbury. From this somewhat impossible person, who

¹ See abstract of his father's will in Waters's Genealogical Gleanings in England, in which Doughty appears to have been cut off with the present of a "white horse or nag." See Thomas Lechford's Note-book, pp. 133-5, 137, 171-3, and 256, Collections American Antiquarian Society. Lechford was employed by Elizabeth Cole and her husband, in an action against her brother, Francis Doughty, whom she charged with having defrauded her of her marriage-portion and her share in her father's estate.

was always getting himself and other people into trouble, Richard Smith, many years later, after intimate association, found himself obliged to part company. That at first his influence with Smith was a real one, and that he was a contributing cause to Smith's emigration, appears, however, probable.

To the New World, therefore, with his wife and children, Richard Smith set forth, leaving, in the words of his friend Roger Williams, "for his conscience toward God, fair possessions in Gloucestershire, and adventured with his relations and estate to New England." He sailed, probably, from Bristol.

I shall only touch upon the history of Richard Smith's wanderings. Although his purchase in Narragansett had already been made, and his trading house was to some degree in operation there, his first place of abode was Taunton, in Plymouth Colony, where he was, if Roger Williams is to be credited, "a most acceptable and prime leading man." In Taunton1 (or, as it was called, Cohannock) he took his oath of allegiance on December 3, 1638, being made freeman in 1640. But his conscience again becoming active, he left that settlement in 1642, the final cause of his departure being sympathy with the parson, Francis Doughty, of whom we have already heard. This abandoned person is said to have asserted in a sermon preached at Cohasset that Abraham's children should have been baptized, a statement so irritating to his auditors that instead of leaving the assembly—which would have shown better manners they forcibly ejected him. So Smith, his conscience, his family and possessions, followed or led by Doughty, set forth again, and after a stay at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and elsewhere, ultimately arrived at New Amsterdam. Doughty probably "betook himself to the protection of the Dutch, that he might in conformity with the Dutch Reformation, have freedom of conscience, which, contrary to his expectations, he missed in New England. (The Director) Kieft received the strangers kindly,

¹ The English Taunton is in Somersetshire, next county to Gloucestershire, about forty miles from Thornbury. The names of neighbouring Massachusetts towns, Berkley, Somerset, Dighton, recall the origin of these settlers.

and immediately granted to Doughty and his associates an absolute ground brief for more than thirteen thousand acres of land at Mespath, or Newtoun, on Long Island. The patent guaranteed to them freedom of religion." "Doughty," says another authority, "was allowed a colony at Mestpacht, not for himself alone as patroon, but for him and his associates, dwelling in Rhode Island, at Cohannock (Taunton) and other places, from whom he had a power of attorney, and of whom a Mr. Smith was one of the principal." Of the associates dwelling in Rhode Island, one at least was Richard Smith, for he had purchased land in Narragansett while at Taunton—and thus was owner of land in both localities.

At first the Mespath settlement throve, but in 1643 the Indians, who had become hostile to the Dutch, attacked the settlement and drove away the colonizers, who lost besides menamong whom was Richard Smith's brother John-their cattle, horses, and all their other property. After the pillage was over Smith returned to Mespath, only to envisage more difficulties, this time with a foe of their own household—the ubiquitous Doughty, who it seems considered himself patroon, while Smith and his friends considered him but an agent, and Kieft the Dutch director appears to have sustained their contention. Right or wrong, Doughty was fined and confined. Thus, to employ the diction of 1850, "the colony of Mespat never recovered from the shock of savage warfare, and the no less fatal blows of intestine strife." With this grand phrase, appropriate to the extinction of the Roman Empire, we leave the settlement of Mespath, as did Smith, who with his family, if not with his flocks and his herds, departed for New Amsterdam, though he continued landowner at Mespath as late as 1645.

Smith was a landholder also in New Amsterdam, and owned a dwelling house at what is now about 56 Stone Street. He is recorded as having purchased a lot on East River, July 4, 1645. This house in Stone Street—so named because it was the first street in New Amsterdam to be paved with stone—was separated by a lane from the land of Thomas Willet, whose name is Riker's Annals of Newtown, 1902, p. 218.

familiar in Narragansett annals and who was the ancestor of a later generation of the Updike family. It was here that Gysbert op Dyck² was married to Smith's daughter Catharine in 1643, and Richard Smith's sponsorship for Catharine's son Lodowick in 1646 is also recorded. Thomas Newton was married also in New Amsterdam in 1648, to another daughter, Joan Smith.

Under the Dutch Director Kieft, Smith held offices of trust, being one of the "Eight Men," or council, appointed to adopt measures against the Indians in 1645, and also signing a treaty with the Indians in behalf of the Dutch in the same year. His son-in-law, Gysbert op Dyck, was his colleague in both instances. It is probable that Smith's family remained in New Amsterdam until his Narragansett experiment was well under way, and would prove a safe residence.³ For at first he seems to have had no intention of taking them thither, but force of circumstances led him to choose "at last this place of Narragansett for his only abode."⁴

The first purchase in the Narragansett country was made by

- "The building would appear to have been of the usual English cottage type,—a low double house, broad side to the street,—for, in 1651, we are informed, in an instrument affecting the property, that the east end of the structure was then occupied by one Randel Hewit." Innes' New Amsterdam and its People, New York, 1902, p. 218–21.
- ² Gysbert op Dyck came of an ancient family of Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves, the genealogy of which, owing to a hereditary aldermanship, was preserved from father to son in the town records from the end of the thirteenth century up to the time of Gysbert op Dyck's emigration to New Amsterdam before 1638 where he occupied various positions of considerable importance. He was the son of Lodowick op Dyck (1565–1615) and grandson of Gysbert (1528–1585) and was baptized in St. Willibrod's Church, Wesel, September 25, 1605. He died at Narragansett sometime after 1659. Wesel gave its name to the family of Vesalius, whose forebears lived there, and in the magnificent title-page of his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, the city arms—three weasels—are displayed. Frederick the Great as a youth was captured at Wesel in his attempt to escape from his father's domination. Its imposing late Gothic Church, dedicated to St. Willibrod, apostle of Westphalia, was restored in 1896. A view of the town and church was engraved by Wenceslas Hollar. See also Updike's *Narragansett Church*, 2d edition, Vol. 1, p. xxii.

³ He sold his house in New Amsterdam August 16, 1651.

⁴ R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 58.

Richard Smith of the Indians, in 1637 or in the spring of 1638 (while, as has been said, he was still a resident of Taunton), at a spot called Cocumscussuc, near the present village of Wickford, in North Kingstown, Rhode Island, on the western shore of Narragansett Bay, "where," as Roger Williams says, "by the mercy of God and the favour of the Nahigonsik Sachyms he broke the ice (at his great charges and hazards) and put up in the thickest of the barbarians, the first English house amongst them." A certificate of John Green, "a sworn Conservator of the Peace" certifies in July, 1679, that "forty years and more, Mr. Richard Smith, that I then lived with, did first begin and make a settlement in the Narragansett, and that by the consent and with the approbation of the Indian Princes and people."2 Perhaps the clearest account of his settlement of Narragansett is contained in a petition to the Crown, by his son Richard Smith, Jr., his grandson Lodowick Updike, and about forty others, which recites that "about forty-two yeares since, the father of one of your petitioners, namely, Richard Smith, deceased, who sold his possessions in Gloucestershire, and came into New England, began the first settlement of the Narragansett Country (then liveing at Taunton, in the Colony of New Plymouth), and erected a trading house on the same tract of land where now his son Richard Smith inhabits, not only at his cost and charge, but great hazard, not without the consent and approbation of the natives, who then were very numerous, and gave him land to sett his house on, being well sattisfied in his comeing thither, that they might be supplyed with such necessaries as affore times they wanted, and that at their owne homes, without much travell for the same. The said Richard Smith likewise being as well pleased in his new settlement in a double respect; first, that hee might bee instrumentall under God in the propagating the gospell among the natives, who knew not God as they aught to know him, and took great paines therein to his dying day; secondly, that that place might afford

¹ R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. 111, p. 57.

² R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 56.

³ Roger Williams preached to the Indians at Mr. Smith's for some space of time.

him a refuge and shelter in time to come, for the future subsistence of him and his; wherein he was not only deceived in his expectation for loosing almost all he had in the Indian war among the Dutch, where hee likewise made a settlement, chose at last this place of Narragansett for his only abode; no English liveing neerer to him than Pawtuxet, at his first settleing, being neare twenty miles from him. That place now called Warwick, was not then thought on. Much about that time, some gentlemen of the Massachusetts Collony removed from their habitations and came to the Narragansett Bay and purchased of the natives an Island in said Bay, and called it Rhode Island; Mr. Wm. Coddington being the chiefest of them, and who only purchased the same, and was the first and chiefest Governor they had for many years; setting up among themselves a government by consent for the well ordering of their owne affaires, and for the peace and security thereof. In process of time, that place called Warwick, was settled by Mr. Gorton and Holden and others; whereby Richard Smith, aforesaid, had some neighbours nearer to him; and afterwards Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence, likewise came to Narraganset and built a house for trade, near unto the former house of Richard Smiths, who [Williams] in some short time quitted his settlement, and sold it to the said Richard Smith, who lived there alone for many yeares, his house being the resting place and rendezvous for all travellers passing that way, which was of great benefit and use to the country; and was at no small cost and charge therein for many years together, to the great reliefe of all travellers. But time, that produces changes, caused him, being wearie of living alone in a desolate wilderness; yet having plenty of Indians and wild creatures, to desire neighborhood and invited his neighbours in New England to purchase of the Indians and settle the countrey with him, which accordingly some well-affected persons of Rhode Island, and some of the Massachusetts Collony, Connecticut and New Plymouth joyned with the said Richard Smith and his son Richard Smith, your present petitioner, who lived there with his father, and made ¹ At Mespath.

two small purchases of two tracts of land by the sea-side."1

"In the time of the Indian," says Mr. Irving Richman in his work on Rhode Island, "the great thoroughfare through Narragansett—its one real artery of life—was the Pequod path, which led from Mooshassuc (Providence) southward along Cowesett Bay, to Cawcamsqussick (Wickford), thence again southward. . . . 2 It accordingly was natural that when the first white settler appeared in Narragansett, he should pitch his pioneer abode somewhere beside the path in question, and this he did at Cawcamsqussick Harbor, between 1640 and 1643, in the person of Richard Smith of Gloucestershire, England.

"Various Dutch traders, a certain Wilcox (John or Edward), and Roger Williams had preceded Smith in resorting to Narragansett and in more or less temporarily residing there, but Smith probably was the first white man regularly and permanently to establish himself in the region. There was a bond of union between Williams and Smith in the fact that the latter had, 'for his conscience to God, left [the Mother Country]. . . . ' The twain agreed, besides, in a liking for a trader's life, and in the wish to convert the Indians. In the case of Smith, indeed, the taste for trade was strong enough to lead him early to build

a house in that interest among the Dutch.

"Richard Smith erected beside the Pequod path at Cawcamsqussick the structure which Roger Williams describes as the first English house among the Narragansetts. In obtaining the land for this house, Smith no doubt was aided by Williams who was well acquainted with the sachems; who himself had a property interest in the land; and who about this time—a time coincident with the Gorton-Arnold agitations at Providence—found a lodge in the wilderness preferable to better accommodations at home. Still, Williams, it would seem, did not build a house of his own at Cawcamsqussick till 1645 or

¹ R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. III, p. 58.

² The exact route (as known to Winthrop and Smith) which the Pequot Path followed after leaving Cocumscussuc has been recently examined by Mr. William Davis Miller and his findings have considerably modified previous opinions about its location and direction. See Miller's "The Ancient Paths to Pequot," R. I. Historical Society's Collections, April, 1937.

1647, and it well may be that it was not until after the destruction by fire of the Smith trading house among the Dutch, August 30, 1646, that Richard Smith personally and permanently came to dwell in Narragansett, where before he had carried on his business through John Greene, a member of his household (not the John Greene of Warwick), and through hired agents."¹

"Very fortunately, the two Englishmen," says Mr. G. P. Winship, "who grasped the opportunity of opening posts for trading with these Narragansett Indians were temperamentally qualified to an unusual degree for dealing with people of another race and different customs. Roger Williams and Richard Smith had hardly an equal among all their contemporary New-Englanders for sympathetic appreciation of the natives' point of view. It was a point of view radically different from that held by most of the English colonists. The two traders performed for many years a service of inestimable value by explaining these differences and showing each how to get along with the other." Richard Smith's position as landowner was in one way

unique. He was a purchaser of land from the Indians,² as were many people at that day; but he preceded in the Narragansett country any government whatever, for it was ground over ¹ Rhode Island: Its Making and Its Meaning, by Irving Berdine Richman, 1902, Vol. 11, pp. 231-3. The following note is also Richman's: "Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. i., p. 216, and Potter's Narragansett, p. 32, contain interesting suggestions regarding the time of Smith's settlement in Narragansett. All the early authorities, excepting Randall Holden and John Greene, give priority to Smith over Williams and Wilcox, and in this Williams himself concurs. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. iii., p. 57).

... The first Indian grant to Richard Smith was evidently of a small tract for his trading house. . . . The conveyances of 1656 and 1659 were of leasehold estates—the first for sixty, and the second for one thousand, years. Rec. King's Prov., pp. 56-59; Potter's Narragansett, pp. 32-33." For an interesting study of the exact location of Roger Williams's Narragansett trading house which preceded Richard Smith's, see Howard M. Chapin's The Trading Post of Roger Williams

² Mr. William Davis Miller has in his possession the original thousand year lease from the Sachem Coginiquant to the two Richard Smiths for land "... for which the fores'd Rich'ds Smiths their heirs or assignes is to pay on every mid sumer day a Red honney Suckell grasse, if it bee lawfully demanded for acknowlegem'ts..." It is dated 1659 and is witnessed by Gylbert op Dyck, James Smith, Ruben Willet, Hestor Smith.

with those of John Wilcox and Richard Smith, Providence, 1933.

which there was no jurisdiction. Later the territory in which it lay was claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and the Marquis of Hamilton; seized by the King's commissioners; and erected into a province called the King's Province owning allegiance to neither party. However, two years later the Governor and Assistants of Rhode Island were appointed as ex-officio magistrates. Finally—years after the purchase—the Province was merged in the Colony of Rhode Island.¹

Smith succeeded in monopolizing most of the trade of the country and "Mr. Smith's" was for years the principal meeting place in Narragansett. He and his son Richard Smith, Jr., made the two additional purchases spoken of above, in company with Major Humphrey Atherton, John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, Lieut. William Hudson, and others in 1659; and they, with several more, being known as the Atherton or Narragansett Company, became possessed of a further tract of very great extent, by mortgage from the Indians in 1660. These two transactions, known as the Atherton Purchase, were for years the subject of dispute and appeals to the Home Government, between the Atherton purchasers and Rhode Island, and between Rhode Island and Connecticut, both these Colonies considering the purchase within the territory granted them by their respective charters from the Crown. In short, "The jurisdiction over the Narragansett country was claimed by both Connecticut and Rhode Island. If, in the end, the former should

The Narragansett country (to quote Richman) "comprised, in general terms, all that portion of the state of Rhode Island south of the towns of Warwick and Coventry—a district not less than twenty miles square. Winthrop, writing in 1634, describes Narragansett as 'all champain for many miles, but very stony and full of Indians.' And 'very stony,' it is unnecessary to remark, it remains at this day. Indeed, almost the only portion of the province that ever has been fit for cultivation is the strip, two to four miles wide, extending from MacSparran Hill and Boston Neck, along the west shore of Narragansett Bay and the seashore, to the Champlin tract in Charlestown. But, as if to compensate in some degree for the general roughness, the strip in question has from the first shared with the island of Rhode Island the distinction of possessing the most fertile soil in New England, a circumstance which, about the middle of the eighteenth century, gave rise in Narragansett to that remarkable economic and social development which, at the hands of recent writers both historical and romantic, has been made a source of such suggestiveness, interest, and charm."

be successful, the Atherton purchasers would be sustained. If, however, Rhode Island could make good her claim, then the first of these purchases would be null and void, as having been made in direct opposition to a law of that Colony passed two years before the date of the first deed. The original mortgage had been made to Connecticut, which, in case Rhode Island was successful, would be a foreign jurisdiction." To complicate matters still more, an unsuccessful claim to the land was also made by the Marquis of Hamilton under a grant from Plymouth Colony.²

The controversies which lasted throughout the lives of the two Richard Smiths, and their relation to these controversies, are explained by the fact that their contention was simply for some kind of responsible government, to which they could look for protection. Their varying positions towards the claims of the two Colonies were prompted by the changing aspects of the case. The Smiths and their associates were in favour of being governed by Connecticut rather than Rhode Island,3 and when given their choice by a commission appointed by the Rhode Islanders decided in favour of Connecticut. Their feelings on the subject may be imagined from a petition, which they addressed to Winthrop in 1661, in which they pray "that we may not be given up to Rhode Island for government but affixed to the jurisdiction of Connecticut. This we earnestly choose; that we intensely dread; for Rhode Island is (pardon necessity's word of truth) a rodde to those who love to live in order. . . . To have our Narragansett lands settled under the jurisdiction of Connecticut . . . will be an effective means of planting those lands with a sober and considerable people knit together in the beautiful order of a well managed government." These sentiments are borne out by many letters written by Richard Smith, Jr.

A little before Richard Smith, Sr.'s death, however, three

¹ Channing's Narragansett Planters, pp. 14, 15.

² See Bowen's Boundary Disputes of Connecticut, Pt. 11, p. 31 et seq.

³ Channing's Narragansett Planters, p. 13.

^{4 5}th Mass. Hist. Coll., 1x, p. 27.

commissioners, appointed by the King to hear the disputes about the Narragansett lands, cut the knot by making Narragansett a separate government called the King's Province and declaring the joint purchase of the Smiths, Atherton, and others void (though the voidance was but temporary and they were soon afterwards confirmed in their titles), but upholding the first purchase of land at Cocumscussuc, which has been bought by the Smiths previous to the Atherton Company's purchase and which was expressly excepted from the Atherton deed. The elder Smith's connection with the Atherton Purchase has somewhat obscured the fact that his earlier Indian purchase was a separate affair allowed by all the claimants in the case. Under constantly varying conditions, to support both this claim (in which he succeeded) and the Atherton claim (in which he failed) came to be the main business of his life.

Of Richard Smith's wife Joan one tradition only survives, of a very practical nature. She is said to have brought from Gloucestershire a recipe for making cheese, and from that recipe all the Narragansett cheeses were made for years afterwards. She died before her husband, but the time and place of her death are not recorded. The marriages of Smith's children were as follows:

Joan Smyth
Katheryne Smyth
James Smyth
Richard Smyth
Elizabeth Smyth

Married Thomas Neuton²
Married Gysbert op Dyck
Unmarried
Married Esther
Married John Viall

Richard Smith died at Cocumscussuc in 1666—to use Williams's phrase—"in his owne house in much serenitie of

"The Hundred of Berkeley has ever been celebrated for the superior quality of its cheese. What, in the kingdom at large, is termed Gloucester Cheese; particularly Double Gloucester; is, in Gloucestershire, called 'Double Berkeley'; not more on the account of the superior quality of the cheese of this district; than because the principal part of the thick cheese of Gloucestershire is made within this hundred." Rural Economy of Gloucestershire, Second Edition, London, 1796, Vol. II, p. 103.

² Their daughter Abigail Newton married Lodowick Updike, son of Gysbert. They were first cousins.

soule and Comfort he yielded up his spirit to God (the Father of Spirits) in peace." He lies buried at Cocumscussuc, in a plot of ground reserved, according to the old custom, for the burial place of the family, and crowded with graves. His resting place is marked by a small pointed slate stone bearing the inscription: "R. Smith, 1666." This graveyard, through the piety of a descendant, is cared for through a fund left for that purpose in 1932. Smith is also commemorated, as well as his daughter Catharine, by a tablet in St. Paul's Church, Wickford.

In his will, after ordering his debts "either by law or conscience to be well and truly contended and paid," he devised Cocumscussuc to his son Richard Smith, Jr., and the remainder of his estate he divided equally between his son, his daughter Elizabeth, and the children of his deceased daughters, Catharine Updike and Joan Newton.

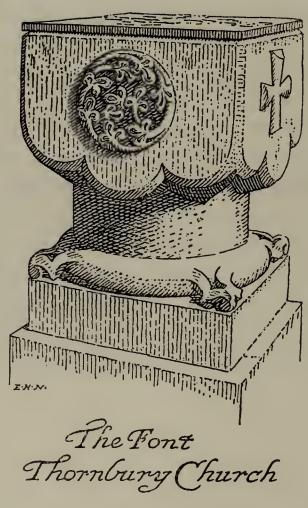
Although the Colonial records tell us much about him, they furnish little or nothing that throws light upon his personal characteristics. His business career in New England and New York seems to indicate a similar business in England, that is, shipmaster and importer. Bristol was then a great shipping centre of the West of England. Thornbury was only "a 10 myles" from Bristol and was on the "Severn Se." Smith seems to have been a type of Colonial settler whose religious opinions place him in the moderate wing of the Puritan party. He was a Pilgrim rather than a Puritan—of Plymouth rather than of Salem. Wilkins Updike calls Smith "a Puritan of the moderate school," and adds, "He chose to settle in Plymouth because they were more tolerant than the Boston Colony." But later he seems to have found even this position untenable and left his Plymouth co-religionists because they were too narrow for his views. Perhaps his quest was for tolerance; though he did not realize that to expect toleration at that period was to expect the impossible.

In this connection I refer the reader to Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth's thoughtful and reasoned address on Roger Williams (*Brown University Papers*, xIV., 1937). It throws light on Williams's character and mentality, illuminates the seventeenth century background of his remarkable activities, appraises the originality of his conception of tolerance, and defines its scope.

A certain clear-sighted gentlewoman, writing of New England from New England about 1640, said: "When I remember the high commendations some have given of the place, and find it inferior to the reports, I have thought the reason thereof to be this, that they wrote surely in strawberry time. I When I have thought again of the mean reports, and find it far better than those reports, I have fancied the eyes of the writers were so fixed on their old English chimney tops, that the smoke put them out. The air of the country is sharp, the rocks many, the trees innumerable, the grass little, the winter cold, the summer hot, the gnats in summer biting, the wolves at midnight howling, &c. Look upon it, as it hath the means of grace, and if you please, you may call it a Canaan." If for this Richard Smith left behind him the pleasant farms, the wooded hillsides, and green vales of the Cotswold country, one must believe that the sacrifices he made were engendered by some sense of actual oppression. But it is unfortunate, for one who sought a Canaan in the wilderness, to choose a spot which was the subject of constant and limitless contention. It may be well to be a hermit; but debatable ground is no place for a hermitage! Smith's gains in temporal security or spiritual peace seem so negligible that his virtue must be counted as its own—and only—reward.

I "Strawberry time" was possibly an allusion to the following incident: When John Winthrop and his company arrived in New England and the ship Arbella anchored off the Beverly shore, while Governor Winthrop and other prominent people were being entertained by John Endecott at his house on the main-land near by, "most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries." In the seventeenth century, the coast as far south as the present site of Beverly was called Cape Ann. See Winthrop's History of New England, p. 31, and John Endecott and John Winthrop, an address delivered June 12, 1930, to commemorate the arrival of Governor Winthrop with the charter, by William Crowninshield Endicott, p. 4.

Richard Smith, Junior



Richard Smith, Junior

c. 1630-1692

unknown, though he was born, no doubt, at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England, probably in 1630, and with his brothers and sisters was taken by his parents to New England, later to New Amsterdam, and from thence with his father to Narragansett where he was associated with him as one of the Atherton purchasers. Almost the earliest notice of him in a more personal way is in a letter of Roger Williams dated "Narr. Feb. 16," 1649/50, in which Williams writes: "I am sorry for the affliction to Mr. Smith in his daughter's husband and we fear Richard Smith his son also, but hope it will please God to give us tidings of deliverance; however, it is not safe for dust and ashes to tempt the Most High in fighting with his winter storms without necessity."

Later on, Roger Williams writing from Narragansett (October 6, 1651), to John Winthrop, Jr., says: "My neighbor of Providence and Warwick (whom I also lately denied) with importunities, have overcome me to endeavour the renewing of their liberties, upon the occasion of Mr. Coddington's late grant. Upon this occasion, I have been advised to sell, and have sold this house to Mr. Smith, my neighbor, who also may possibly be yours, for I hear he likes to have Mrs. Chester." The knowledge which we hitherto had of Richard Smith, Jr.'s earlier years is scanty; but the discovery of fifty of his letters, chiefly to members of the Winthrop family, has given some picture of his daily life after 1665.

Most of these letters were written to John Winthrop, the younger, Governor of Connecticut, of whom a few words should be said. He was the son of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts and, like his father, a friend of Roger Williams. He was born in England in 1606 and died at Boston in 1676. Richard Smith, Jr.'s constant application to Winthrop for medi-

cal advice appears surprising, but Winthrop was a trained, and indeed a practicing, physician. To quote Mr. Morison, "The younger Winthrop was easily first in scientific interest among New Englanders in the seventeenth century. Educated largely through his own readings and extensive travels (since he had spent but two years at Trinity College, Dublin), he came to New England at the age of twenty-five, bringing with him a large library full of scientific books. . . . Winthrop, like many intellectuals of his day, was interested in almost every branch of science. He was a practising physician, and dispensed medicines of his own compounding to the poor. He prospected for minerals, assayed ores that he found in New England, dabbled in alchemy, organized the first ironworks and salt-pans in New England, and showed a keen interest in optics and astronomy. But his principal interest, as his books indicate, was in chemistry.... Among Winthrop's English scientific friends and correspondents were Robert Boyle, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir Kenelm Digby, Prince Rupert, Sir Christopher Wren, and Samuel Hartlib; among his European correspondents were Glauber, Kepler, and Van Helmont. He became one of the earliest fellows of the Royal Society. Sir Kenelm Digby and others begged him to live in London, and not to hide his light in a remote corner of the world; but he remained faithful to New England, and died while leading Connecticut safely through the dangers of King Philip's War."1

The first letter of the series was addressed by Smith to the Worshipful John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of Connecticut, on January 11, 1665/6. In this he tells of his wife's illness and Winthrop's kindness in prescribing for her and asks if Winthrop can give further aid. He mentions a remedy called Rubila powder, a medicine for the making of which Winthrop had the secret. He adds, "I have nothing of Newse to aquaint yor Worshep with, onley Sir Robert Care was here, is nowe at Rode Island bound for N: Yorke." In a second letter written from Narragansett, May 14, 1665, Smith asks if Winthrop can further prescribe for his kinswoman's illness. Indeed he offers to See Morison's The Puritan Pronaos, New York, 1936, p. 242 et seq.

have her come to Connecticut, where she may become his patient; but she first desires that by the earliest conveyance possible he shall send a remedy to her. Esther, whom Smith uniformly alludes to as his cousin, was his wife. Incidentally Smith observes casually, "We are under the Government of Rode Island at present," and adds, "They hope for continuance, we hope not: its a troubell to all our minds excedingly to be under them, it makes much discontent in pepels minds. What events will folowe I knowe not. We are nowe plased under a government that cannot govern themselves."

Winthrop hastened to send medicines to the afflicted kinswoman—whether from good nature or that he might not have her permanently in the neighbourhood, who can tell?—for in August, 1665, Smith writes to say that she is much better. After thanking him for his kindness Smith again returns to the question of jurisdiction and says: "We are here att Naragansett much abused by Rode Ilanders and they ware wicked men, they having cutt downe sum mens grase by theyr dores within theyr inclosed grounds, and did intend to putt us by moving all of us except we would insnare our selvfes to be ingaged to wrighting which theyr Counsell had drawne, which the pepell here refused. We all resolved to stand together as on man and to make and poses the have that they had cutt, which we did, meting alltogether resolving to opose all that shall molest us in our bisnes. We had as good lose our lives as livlyhod; besyds we are left under a gouvment that cannot gouverne themselvfes. They were licke latly to gooe together by the yeare, which I judge they will ere longe. They are nowe bulding a forte in the wodes 2 miles out of the towne by a swamp syde. There the Govnor and Counsell is to sitt and derect the pepoll what they must doe agaynst the Duche or other enimys, such as shall buren howses & ships, or remove have cokes; its so expreste in theyr decloracion, we having before mouved sum haye that they had made up on our land. They have also putt forth an Aicte in wrighting that those that will not ingage persnolly and virtualy to asist the Gouvnor & Counsell agaynst such enimys as befor menchned Duch desenters shall be outlaweed; theyr estats confisticated, and that any person maye kill them: if found on Rode Iland, Quonanig^t, or any small Iland. Instede of conforming to this Aicte the pepoll were much disturbed, refewsing to obeye the Counsels order."

Later on, in April, 1666, a letter is sent in which he says, picturesquely enough: "Sir, this barer returen hither sudenly from your parts to us or his father, it being an Indian that livs ner to us, I would request yor worship to send what you thinke may be convenient by this barer," and goes on to say: "Here is no newes worth giving you intimacion of, only Rode Jsland men are very busey to drawe us into theyr jurisdicion if they could by verty of theyr Paten right, to which porpos they have granted Comishions and depeweted Conservators of the pees here at Naragansett, in all sixe, and sent on over inpowered to ingage them in theyr new ofises. My father being on depewted, mr Porter & mr Renolls these 3, refewsed to take theyr ingagments except they would showe theyr Comishion under the Comishiners hands & seles which did impower Rode Iland so to depeut them, which Rode [I]sland men refused to send a copa of to them; so nothing is done about it." A postcript says: "My kindswoman Ester hath sent you by this Indian barer a small token, namly two cheses."

On the thirteenth of February, 1667/8, Smith wrote from Wickford¹ saying that he could not leave Boston soon enough to have seen Winthrop at his house, and adds that, according to Winthrop's direction, he had bought a cupping glass at Boston, "butt we knowe not howe to use it." No letter is complete without reference to the land question, and he closes by saying: "The inhabitanc in the Kings Provence as its caled are in good hopes thatt you will comisratt our condicion att yo¹ next Court, and take us under yo¹ Goverment, wher of right we doe belong, for nowe we live voyd of Goverment in efectt, having our Enimys over us, ille abell to setell any good order amongst us when non is amongst theyr selvfse." Indeed Richard Smith, Jr., petitioned to be taken under the jurisdiction of Connecticut in 1668, although in 1669 and in 1672 he held various ¹ The name given to the settlement of which Smith's estate was the beginning.

offices under the government of Rhode Island. His reasons for accepting these posts are (rather lamely) explained later.

The above letter is the first one which is not signed "Junr," for his father died in 1660. At his death the younger Smith inherited the estate at Cocumscussuc, which, with what he already held as one of the Atherton Company, made him a large landed proprietor. In a deed he styles himself a merchant.

In a later letter, June 4, 1668, he expresses his thanks "for those things you last sent by Capt John Alyne," and asks Winthrop if he cannot send him some of the powder for his kinswoman which, he says, "I cannot beter describe it then to the leafes of dryed rosemarey rubd, for coulor, & it would swime on the beare sume of it. Its all spent, so thatt she hath non left for a sampell. Sir, I hope to see you att my howse when you gooe to Boston." The wish that Winthrop might come to Wickford was, apparently, not fulfilled, for on the tenth of December, 1668, he writes: "We did expectt you here, butt wer nott so hapy as to see you. I was latly att Boston & Capt Breden and Mr. Kellam promised me to gett an order in Eingland concerning the Naragansett Country, thatt we may be under Coneticutt. They are both goon in mr Fayrwether and deseyred me to request you to send a leter to Generall Nickols concerning the bisnes of Naragansett, which they saye will much conduse to furder it. Mr Proutt is it to gooe and Capt Longe."

On the twenty-sixth of the following January, Smith again writes, telling Winthrop that the letter which he had sent came safe to hand, "butt after thatt a rumor with us was that you were ded, which did nott alitell trobuell us, untel we herd the contrary." A good deal of the news in those days (some of it "ould news" as Smith picturesquely puts it) was nothing more than rumor which grew in transmission—as Horace Walpole said, "a lie, but t'will do for news in the country."

Smith again speaks of his wife, and adds, "Sarah is much beter since yor Worship gave her that powder." Winthrop was apparently the physician of the entire family. The Sarah referred to was probably Sarah Whitehead, a sister of the writer of the letter. Smith adds: "Yor sonn Capt Waitt I sawe att Boston nere Cristmas, was well & all yor relacions there. Noe newes only by the waye of Virgenya, which is thatt the Duck of Munmoth is created Princ of Walles & 30 Nonconformis ministers are sent to Scottlon to setell church afayrs there: I had it in a leter latly: from Captt Hudson." And turning to local happenings, he goes on: "Aboutt one wecke since one indyan with two squose gott into a mans howse here in Naragansett in the evining, the man that night not being att home, and drewe and draink so much Rumb outt of his caske that they were so drunke that gooeing homards they laye downe in the cartt waye and were frozen all ded by the morning." He. adds in a postscript that more cheeses have been sent to Winthrop by Richard Williams. These cheeses seem to have been presented whenever the Smiths feared they had asked for too much medicine!

An important letter not among the Winthrop papers, which casts light on Richard Smith's English connection, was written by him on October 22, 1669, from Narragansett to an uncle William Barton, Morton near Thornbury, Gloucestershire. It reads as follows:

"Unkell Barton: my kind respets presented to you and to my Aunt Irland. Yor Leter by John Sundrland I receved & nothing in the world could be more aceptabell then to heare of yor helth and welfare in this life; and my prayres shall be that god will inrich you with his everlasting blesing of his Loue and fauor. I could wish opertunity would so faver me that I might see your fasee. While Life Continuys it shall be my indeveres to acomplish it, for in my mind I, have with you; though god hath setled the bounds of all men, and my habutacion att present remott from you. I hope to see you if god spare my Life & yor butt one yeare or two Longer. It shall and is my indevres to drawe my buisnes to sush a hede that I may with some safety Leve it, though much bisnes att present atends me. We are all in helth, my Cousen Ester Smith presents her respts to you and all her frends, my Loue to all relacions. Sir: be plesed to wright to me by all opertunitys: I shall not





remitt any. This berer Lives nere me namly Cristopher ffowlders, hath sume estaet att Aliston; if you send by him he will deliver it, he is an honist Quacker. Sir (I thainke) you for yr [illegible] butt it [about four words obliterated] it I have not sene John Sundrland butt shall s[manuscript mutilated] Shall send you a fachnabell bevor as sone as I can gett it made. Nott elce: but in greatt haste take my Leve and remayne yor ever obleged kindsman

RICH SMITH:"

"from my house in Naragansett 22d october 1669"

[Endorsed on back]

"Richard Smyth this out of new england to Mr Barton 22 Oct. 1669."

This letter is addressed as follows:

"This for his much respettd unkell Mr William Barton att his house in Morton neck [near?] Thorinbury in Glosistershere. Deliver this leter to Cristaphor ffowldrs: to be Conveyd: as above: with Care:" This and a later letter to John Smyth of Nibley were among the family papers of the Smyths of Nibley, Gloucestershire.²

- ^I Aliston, i.e., Alveston, a village about two miles from Thornbury, commonly pronounced Alliston.
- ² About 1888 these Smyth papers were acquired by Bernard Quaritch and are described by the latter (in his Rough List No. 87, London, January, 1888) as "Manuscript Collections from the Old Family Archives of the Berkeleys & Smyths of Gloucestershire; and the Owens, Cowpers & Cholmondeleys of Shropshire & Cheshire: etc." They were purchased by Alexander Maitland, nephew to James Lenox in 1887 and presented to the New York Public Library where they now are in a collection entitled: "Smyth Collection. Virginia papers, 1613–1679, consisting of 84 originals and contemporary transcripts. Those from 1613–1634 were collected by John Smyth of Nibley, in Gloucestershire, author of the Lives of the Berkeleys and one of the original 'Adventurers' in the promotion of plantations and settlements in the second Virginia colony."

A calendar of the Smyth papers was published in Volume 1, No. 7 (July, 1897), of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, and at the end are abstracts of the two letters of Richard Smith, Jr., of Narragansett already mentioned. Among the thirty-eight papers relating to the settlement of Virginia from 1609 to 1622 there is an agreement between Richard Berkeley, George Thorpe, William Tracy, and John Smyth of Nibley, to supply a Richard Smyth and his

The next—a long letter to Winthrop—is dated New London, May 2, 1670. It contains an interesting account of the state of affairs in Rhode Island just then. Smith writes, "Sir, I thainke you for your informacion to me of what Newes you had by waye of N:Yorke. Here is many pepoll deed at Rode Jsland the later hand of winter and this Springe 30 or 40: Mr John Gard the chife, others those you know not, and verey sickly still; it takes ym with a payne in hed & stomoke & side, on which folowes a fevor & dyes in 3 or 4 days maney. Litell newse as it from Urope as I here, only the Turke hath taken severall of our merchants ships in straits; one Mr Clements that went outt from Boston they toke, & its noysd as if Mr Robertt Gibes is taken by them, he went outt of Virginia to gooe to Tangere. Its also reported that the French Kinge hath bought Flanders of the king of Spayne for thre milions & intends a ware one Holond. Captt Peerse is expected with others sudenly by whom we shall here more certaynely. Many vesalls are latly arived from Barbados into Boston & one to Rode Jsland. Its sickly in Boston, many ded, Mr Gilam, Mr Peater Olyvor, & since m^r Houchin is ded. Sir, I have an intent for Eingland sudenly, I

wife, and others, with land for cultivation in Virginia, under date of September 1, 1620. But Richard Smith, Sr., was only married in May, 1621. A Mr. Chester is occasionally named, who may have some connection with that Mrs. Chester whom Roger Williams mentions in one of his letters as being likely to marry Richard Smith, Jr. Besides the calendar in the *Bulletin* for July, 1897, extracts from the correspondence are contained in the *Bulletins* for March, 1897, and

April, May, June, and July, 1899.

The family of John Smyth of Nibley was afterwards represented by that of Owen, which in turn was succeeded in the representation by that of Cholmondeley, resident at Condover Hall, Shropshire—a very fine Tudor house described in a compilation by Mr. E. W. Townson (Shrewsbury, 1890) under the title Condover, Past and Present. Thomas Cholmondeley of this family was a friend and correspondent of Emerson, and a friend, too, of Thoreau, and visited America with the purpose of meeting these two men—an interesting paper about him appeared some years ago in The Atlantic Monthly. Cholmondeley was also, by a surprising contrast, interested in the Tractarian movement, and Keble, who visited at Condover, wrote some of his verse at his house. Thomas Cholmondeley was succeeded by his son Reginald who sold the Smyth papers to Quaritch. Many of the contents of Condover were sold in London in 1897, and a set of Addison's Works, printed by Baskerville, with John Smyth's arms and a label marked "Nibley" is in the possession of the writer.

hope to gooe in June next. I should be glad if I might be capable to doe you any servis when I come there, and shall indever it to the utmost of my abylaty if you please to comand me in any. I intend to returen next yeere if God please to give me life and helth. My Couzen Ester I shall leve att Naragansett; were it not that shee hath found so much helpe and favor from you I knowe I could not perswade her to staye, for shee acounts her life is preserved by what you send her, with Gods blesing to it. Sir, I could gladly wish that sume setelment would be aboutt Naragansett Cuntry & that yor Colony would take us into yor Government, if you see cause. I should be very redy if [torn off in the original were, to give the best information about it in Eingland I could, if your Worship would butt wright to Colonoll Nickols by me and sume others you are intrested with. I shall doe the utmost I can to perform in what you deseyr." In a postscript he says, "I hope your next Courtt will give us hopes of a certayn setellment of Naragansett."

On the second of June, 1670, Smith tells Winthrop that he is writing to him from New London, and is going away sooner than he expected—to England, no doubt, for he says that if Winthrop had letters ready he would be glad to carry them. The letters were to be directed to "Mr James Smith grosor in Fann Church strett London; butt if to Bristoll, to mr Walte

Sterns att Gouldon Coke in High strett draper."

His cousin, he says, he will leave at Narragansett, and begs that Winthrop will help her if she is ill. In order that this suggestion might be the more effectual in its fruits, Esther Smith writes on the same day: "I make bowld to present you herwithall with a pr of socks, stiripe hose and stokings and shooes. They are butt mene, I could wish they were beter. Be plefed to except of them from shee that is never abell to recompenc yor greatt love and favor to me." Not content with sending the socks, striped hose, stockings, and shoes, she sent "Also a Small token for yor Hounored wife"—a cheese, undoubtedly.

September 4, 1671, Smith says that he has wished to come to see Winthrop but has been so busy since his arrival (undoubtedly meaning his return from England) that he had had no

time either to go to Winthrop or to write. "My ocacions hath bin much to fitt out our ship for Barbados, which nowe is redy within 3 or 4 days. Severall Gentellmen in Eingland of nobell Qualaty did inquyer for you, outt of the Respt they owe you and have hard of you. I had much discourse with my Lord Anthony Ashly Copers Hounor concerning New Eingland and all the afayrs therof, which I did newly give him an aco of & of the discent betwene Coneticott & Rode Island. He wished your selvfe there. The king and Counsall had the hering of it and they intended to comishionatte gentellmen of this Country of each Colony to be a standing Comishion to end all such discent. I would also, if your Worship have inclynacon so to doe, be your chepman for Fishers Island, & paye mony in Einglad for it if you see cause. When I see you shall more att large give you an aco of all concerns I knowe of." Powders, ointments, and plasters, and the methods of their application still form an accompaniment to the rest of this, and every other, letter.

In April, 1672, Smith writes: "Here is no newes, only Rode Island Generall Asemly have made many strainge kind of Aicts, or Lawes as they call them, and quitt contrary to reason."

On the third of May, 1672, there still seems to be "no newes," but as he writes four pages, there appears to have been something to say. "Here is no newes, only a cleare chainge of Elecion, mr Brenton being chouzen Govr. Theme formarly in plasce intended to have made theyr aplycacion to Eingland by sending Mr John Clarke theyr Agentt, butt they are nowe outt of plasce and its nowe the deseyr and indevors of most here to compley with your Coloney in a loving & peasabell manor, and having nott so much time as so dewley to consider of whatt to propose in order to a frendly comployence from hence, they have by a leter sent deseyered your Coloney would forebare the prosacusion of aney thing agaynst Squomacott men. Sir, I ame very confident thatt your Worship will see thatt nowe they will from henceforth nott pretend aney thinge for delaye, butt performen all things pretended. Had it nott bin thatt of my owne knowlidg peace is nowe deseyered by them here, I would nott

have concerned my selvfe with them in thatt ofise and plase I am nowe in amongst them. Itt maye seme strainge to sume of my frends, butt that which did indewse me to axcept it was my thoughts of furdring a complyanc betwixt both Coloneys, which nowe honistly will be indevored by these here, without quibles or delayes. I hope you will farther it and cause a small stope, thatt noe suden mocion be agaynst those men of Squomocott untell you here from hence." This was written from Newport. He adds as a postscript: "Mr Bryndly & my selvfe I sopose shall visett you in order to a comployenc shortly from hence. I expectt William Coundy in here about the later end of this month & from hence for Eingland."

Some days later, on May 10, Smith writes from Wickford to John Winthrop, commonly called Fitz-John Winthrop (to distinguish him from his father and grandfather) though seldom signing his name thus. He was the son of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., and Elizabeth Reade of Wickford, Essex, England—and it is in her honour that the village of Wickford was named. He was born in Massachusetts, but on the death of his grandfather, John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was taken to Connecticut. He entered Harvard but abandoned his studies for a post in the English Parliamentary forces. After the Restoration, returning to Connecticut in 1663, he held various military offices and he remained there until his father's death, when he spent much of his time in Boston. Although serving in the councils of Dudley and Andros, on the fall of the latter he returned to Connecticut, where he was again employed in various military expeditions and a diplomatic mission to England in behalf of the Connecticut charter. Much beloved by the people, he became Governor of Connecticut in 1698 and held this office until his death in 1707. Portions of his armour belong to the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this letter, Smith tells of a servant who wishes to remain in Rhode Island. The carpenter Robert Hazard who is mentioned was a forebear of the well-known Narragansett family; and we shall hear more of the boat which Hazard was repairing. "I had sent your man by Edward Stalling, butt he went awaye betimes in the morning ere I had notis of it. Your man hath a greatt deseyr to staye att Rode Island, & sayth sume there be will laye downe so much as you are outt one him. Praye send me your mind aboutt him & I will see it done, your muney scequered, or send him to you. I have allso proquered thatt gune for you, Cost £3 money; its a good one, had much adoe to gett him. One Robertt Haserd hath promised to doe your botte, which cane doe her as well as any man. I judge we will gett her well done or elce nott at all, and if nott, will send her home as sone as maye be."

Letters seem to have followed each other fast, for Smith writes from Wickford on the eighteenth of May, to Winthrop, saying that he has sent Mr. Jireh Bull to give him a verbal account of some doings of the Rhode Island people in what Smith apparently considers the jurisdiction of Connecticut. He asks Governor Winthrop to come to Narragansett, as by so doing

he would "satisfy sume speritts here."

On the sixth of July, 1672, Richard Smith writes to Fitz-John Winthrop at New London that he knows of no purchaser for Winthrop's "taylor," who seems to have been a real flesh and blood tailor who was bought and sold like the clothes he made. The epistle reads as follows: "I knowe of none here will buye your taylor thatt can make good paye for him att present. It will be much if he runes not awaye from you agayne, for I have herd sinc he went he tretned it. The gune £3 must be pd for her money to Samuell Eldride Jun when he returns from Newfoundland. Your boate we Cannott it gett done, I would shee was with you, for I am afrayd if they open her botom she will be spoyled and not be so good as nowe shee is, for its a difacult pease of worke. I ame sorey ocacions hindred me I could not waight upon you when at my howse. Your leter & that left with Eldrid receved. Your loves & paynes in coming so fare I ame thainkful to you all, butt can nott ofisciatt; being ingaged to another Coloney this yeare must deseyer your excewes, not butt that I ame and shall be redy to serve your Coloney in aney thing that I can to my power." The allusion

in the last portion of this extract to his being unable to serve under the Connecticut government, refers to his holding some office under Rhode Island—an ill-advised undertaking, as later on he appears to have accomplished nothing except to have disappointed Winthrop by his repeated refusals to serve and lost to some extent Winthrop's interest in helping him politically. From other records, it seems that in 1673 he refused to hold office under Rhode Island, and was appointed president of the Court of Magistrates in the King's Province by Connecticut.

On the twentieth of July, 1672, he writes to John Winthrop

the following interesting letter:

"My servis presented to you & Mistres Wintrop and al your. My Couz Ester presents hers in licke manar, who is beter then ever shee was since she was first lame. There was a treaty att New London by Coneticott & Rode Island. I did intend to be there, butt was att Boston and had no notis of it untell it was over. Sir, I should be glad a fayer and peasable agreemnt were. I judge Rode Island men will once more propose to putt it to referenc to persons nott intrested in lands here. Theyr Generall Asembly sitts the last of this instant month. I shall indever to promt them to such a proposall, which I hope you will exceptt. I sopose they will pitch one sume gentellmen of Newe Yorke if aney. Your gentellmen when downe att my howse left a paper with Mr Eldrid wich did invest me Magistraticall power to aictt in Naragansett Country with Captt Hutchinson & Capt Hudson; the wrighting I delived to Capt Hudson. Sir, I cannot aictt att present as under Coneticott, because this yeare ame obleged for Rode Island in publicke plase alredy. I have, shall & will be redy to serve your Coloney in aney thing I can, butt at present must baige your favor & excewse, nott that I ame disafected to your intrest, butt because I ame injaged in publique for this yeare alredy; & had it nott bine to have stoptt sending an Agent, which they had desyred, & other things sett one footte by Mr Arnold and adherent, as also to be instrumentall for the release of Mr William Haris, I would nott have excepted of aney plase with them, only as it was nesesatay requyred it."

In March, 1672/3, he writes from Fisher's Island to John Winthrop on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Winthrop. He also tells a grim story of an old dame in the neighbourhood who, murdered by her son, appeared to an unfortunate gentleman named Bridges, who had the ill luck to be either her acquaintance or her brother—Smith seems not to know which!

"My kind respects presented, with hopes of your recovry and helth; ame hartaly sorey for the lost of Mistris Wintrop; my respets to all yor relacions. Your son Captt Waitt informed us as he went to Boston thatt you were recovred, which was joyfull newes to us. My wivfe deseyred me to present her servis to: you, with many thaings for all your love. She hath herewith sent you a small token, namly six cheses and one small caske of shuger. . . . We have noe newes latly I supose butt what you have hard, onley att Rhod Island a sade aixedent latly hapned. Ould Mistrs Cornall who lived with her sone wase found burned to death nerly to a cole. Butt litell feyer being in the rome and she not neare it wher shee laye ded, severall pepoll being in the next rome, only a perticion of bords betweene, nott hard her cry, nor smelt her wolone cloths tho burned to a cole, having no coten cloths aboutt her, an inquest pased on her who returned a verditt thett shee was burned to deth by fyer, so shee was buryed. In a shortt time aftwards an aperriscion apeared to one mr Briges who was a frend of this Mistris Cornall. As he laye in his bed she heved up the cloths and awacked him, she standing by his bed side: he asked her in the name of God who she was, she replyed she was his sister Cornell, soe sd she howe I am burned with fyer, and a glimering light apeared in the rome, wher he afermeth on his injagment he perfectly sawe her deformed with the feyer, to his greatt astonishment. One devilging of which and the obscervanc sume had of the unkindnes used by her sonns behaver twowards his mother when living and after she laye ded, she was by the athoroty taken up agayne and serched by the curirgions with a juroy also of 24 men, who found a wound thatt went in neare her hartt. Shee being riped open found cloted bloud a greatt deall, the hole suposed to be made with

one which Tho. Cornall was aprehended, being her sonn, who denyse it; he is comited to prison to be scequred untell Maye Courtt. If he be gilty its an excrabell murder; he confeseth he was the last man was in her company and not above ¾ of an ower before she was fownd ded."

After this terrifying narrative we find Smith writing (on the twenty-fourth of May, 1673) that he cannot but sympathize with Winthrop in his great loss, adding with unintentional humour: "My lost is lickly to be also considrabell, my wivfe being at this time very sicke & wecke." It seems that a certain Dr. Greenland, whose comfort was as cold as his name, endeavoured to treat Mrs. Richard Smith, but most unsuccessfully, and Smith implored Winthrop to send her some remedy, as she declined ever to employ Dr. Greenland again—a state of mind to which ladies have been reduced by unsuccessful physicians both before and since. In fact, a lady who is "very sicke & wecke having a continuall payne in her bowles & all aboutt her, her stomoke gone, and littell rest & very faint" seemed very much in need of the services of a skilful physician. Smith adds, "I doutt shee will not continue longe exceptt amendment. Suden chainges being insodent to mankind, I deseyr the Lord to fitt me for the licke. Sir, shee presents her servis to you & to your dauftrs with you. I shall be glad to see you att Wickford when God shall strainthen you to travall for Boston. I hope you will come this waye. Here is litell newes with us; its soposed thatt his Maiesty hath apoynted sume Comishionated to come for N. E., I understand, except more then ordnary prevents. If they come I hope it may putt a finall end to all such dissence as now are depending. Here arived a kaitch 4 days since att Newportt from Barbados; shee was chased 48 ours by a shipe aboutt 100 leges from hence. Its judged sume sculking men of ware may anoye this cost. Thomas Cornell is convicted & condemned for murdring his mother, as also an indyan for comiting a villonowes rape one Richard Bulgers wivf, sister of Captt Underell, which was the cause of her death. These two are to be exacuted tomorowe att Newportt. Sir, I understand by a

leter come to my hand just nowe from Mr Willis thatt your General Asemly hath depeuted me to serve in sume offise here this yeare. I would serve your Coloney in aney thing I could, butt this yeare must beige your & theyr exceuse, having denied to serve att Rhod Island tho extremeley urged therto, besyds my bisnas being such amongst them att present that it will be much to my pregadish. I hope to doe more service not being concerned with publicke offis. I have wright to Mr [torn off] to aquaint my hounered frends the gentellmen of Coneticott with my indisposcion att present & have rendred sume grounds, which are reall. I ame much obleged to them & shall be as redy to serve them, onley this time crave humbly theyr exceuse, and shall request that favor of you as to exceuse me to them, & that they will not take it amise, for if I serve in aney publick plasce agayne they shall comand it soner then aney. . . . My respets & servis to Captt Silvestr his wivfe & famaly."

Two days later, by Boulbackim, an Indian—whose name is redolent of the Arabian Nights-Smith sends another letter full of accounts of his "cousin's" illness, and says that "shee having had such experienc of your love to her is nott willing to take aney thing more of Mr Grindland"; and thus Boulbackim is sent to procure more powders and pills, and Smith begs that he be sent back with all speed. He adds casually there is no news but that Lord Willoughby is dead and most of the ships taken that went from Boston for England last winter. Shipping was of great interest to him-very naturally, for he seems himself to have had part in several shipping ventures.

On June 21, 1673, he writes of "Severall ships arived att Boston fro Irland, two from France & Jarsey, & Billboe severall. The newse all wares & greatt preperacion for it." And adds, "I have spoken with Ninicroft yesterdaye, informed him that your Government toke it ille of him to kepe a murderar thatt bracke joyle, and he refewseth still to deliver him up,

nether will he, butt strivs to exceuys him."

Roger Williams once wrote to John Winthrop, "You have always been noted for tendernes toward men's soules ... You have

been noted for tendernes toward the bodies & infirmities of poor mortalls." And Winthrop seems to have concerned himself with the spiritual condition of the Smith family as well as with their bodily ills; for in the letter dated June 25, 1673, and received July 11, Smith says: "Your loving mocion as concerning mr Blaickelech to execyes amongst us I humbly thaink you for your care of us. Mr Williams doeth exaceys amongst us and sayth he will contuny itt; he precheth well and abell, and much pepell comes to here him to theyr good satisfaicion. I have also inportuned Ninicroft 3 dayes sinc to deliver up the indyan acused by the Pequots for murder, which he refeuseth to doe; being of an obistynatt tember if he were humbled a litell it would doe him much good. As to newes, here is litell, onley sume ships arived att Boston, 2 from Irland, 2 from Bilbo, 2 from Jerrsey, Zaicray Longe from Franc, one from Calas. The newes is all wares and greatt preperacon for it. This barer Jndyan I sent aboutt 6 dayes agooe, who returned for fere of the Wampequags, & have gott him nowe to adventure to fech what your plesewer is to send."

A later letter was sent by an Indian with the astonishing name of Wonaequomuchquen, whom he says he met accidentally, going about business of his own to Connecticut. This letter was dated July 23, 1673, and was delivered at Hartford, by the Indian, on August first, he having travelled the distance of about eighty miles in a week! "Captt Atherton deseyred me to conveye this inclosed to you:" writes the worthy Smith, "to my knowlidge he hath bin very much abused by Timothy Marther his brotherlawe, who strivfs to gett Administracion notwithstanding his brother is nowe here, hee being the eldist sonn of Major Atherton and ayer att lawe, to home I hope your Courtt will give administracion, and not to one that is noe wayse alyed butt by marige. I promised him to wright to you aboutt it; he showed me his leter nowe sent and what he alegeth which I knowe to be trewe. He intends up to Wickford shortly aboutt it. Sir, lett me request you to doe him all the just favor you can, for I knowe his brother Marther would doe him wronge." He adds that his cousin has a pain settled in her right arm and says

quaintly that "shee hath oynted it with your oyntmnt and hath bathed it, butt finds no amendment of it."

August 5, 1673, finds him much excited because of "the advantage nowe the Duche have, taking Yorke, an inlett for to anoye this whole Cuntry, having nowe a plasee of stranth to shelter in." He says further that he had letters from the master of his vessel at Newfoundland saying that there was only one ship from England there this year, and adds that a Plymouth man who was taken three times by the Dutch reports that one thousand sail of English ships were lost last year, and hears from Boston that the Dutch fleet had taken six vessels and burned six more in Virginia and blocked up the rest; and, further, "also it informed me that fivety two sayle of our Kings frigets foutt with the Duch, butt was over powered by number but retreated hounorabell. Butt one French ship in Newfoundland this yeare, a strictt imbarguo. Sir, have sent you this paper of my Lord Ashly spech, for which I thainke you." Smith's spelling was original, even for the seventeenth century.

The fifth of September, 1673, still finds Smith alarmed about the incursions of the Hollanders. He says, "a kaitch arived att Boston from Irland brings newes of a greatt fight betwene Eingland & Holond. The intiligence is various, as it sume reports one syde & sume the other syde had the daye. I have good grownes to beleve thatt in casce a spedye course be not taken to outt the Duch of Yorke, they will annother yeare comand this whole Cuntry N: Englad. Whether aney paickett be sent to his Maisty from Boston I knowe not; had we butt two 3d or 4th rate frigotts might easely retacke Yorke with butt 500 men by land. Our libertyes & estates will lye in dainger if not spedaly prevented. I understand Captt Sylvester hath submited himselvf to Yorke, the Duch. I wonder att him, onley he is a Duchman in his hartt I judge, or elce would not have dared to have done it. Its not his pretending he did it to prevent daingar will exceuse him when time shall serve, besyds he nowe lyes open to be pilliged by the Einglish, as being nowe an enimey to our King & Cuntry."

i.e., to oust the Dutch from New York.

On February 12, 1674/5, Smith writes to Winthrop a long letter devoted mostly to his own illness, as well as his wife's, which we spare the reader. But at the end Smith mentions that the chief opponents of Connecticut are: "Thomas Gould, James Ronalds, Jeriah Bull, Samuell Willson & John Swete. If these were made conformabell the rest were plyent enough." He says further: "I sopose you have herd of Mr Oxenbrige his death, who dyed sudenly; allso Mr Robertt Gibes catched a fall as he wase gooeing, the time beinge sliprey," and falling into rhyme, adds, "hurtt his syde of which he dyed." In a postscript, seven cheeses and two turkeys make their appearance (as a gift from Esther Smith)—the latter a welcome variation for the Winthrop family. Indeed, a more splendid present was intended, as a firkin of white sugar was left with one William Condy at New London. Smith says that it is doubtful whether or not it will come to Winthrop, by reason of the winter, and it is a relief to know that the weather, and not Mr. Condy's character, is the cause of this doubt.

In a later letter (April 2, 1674), to Edward Palmes, who married, for his first wife, John Winthrop, Jr.'s daughter, Lucy Winthrop, Smith writes: "This is only to aquaint you thatt the barers hereof have by Plymouth Government bin permited to pase thorowe theyr precinks, having a parse which Rhode Iland Gov^rment hath sene, and given them also a permitt and money to travall, they nowe being bound for N: Yorke. This is to request your favorabell aspectt twowards them to permitt them to gooe alongst shore, sume of them dweling in Yorke and gooeing home. They saye the Einglish have alalongst scively treted y^m & all Rhode Jsland hath to my knowlidg bin very charatabell twowards them. Sir, here is no newes, only 2 dayes since arived att Rhoad Jsland a kaitch from Virginia, who bring newes they speak with a Londonor withoutt the Capes which informed them greatt licklywod of peace with Holond & questione not butt ere this confermed."

Under the date of September 21, 1674, Smith speaks of having no news from Europe except that the Governor of New York was come out, and says that some of the Rhode Island

gentlemen intended to hold court at Narragansett in a few days, and that they have no power to oppose them unless Winthrop interferes.

The closing months of the year 1674 seem to have been devoted to good cheer, as Smith writes on November 21, 1674: "We had the remembrenc of your houndred father with your selvfe maney times in good wine, which the Uropian gentry begane verey often bothe here and att Rhode Jsland, maney of whome presente theyer respets & servis to you, as namly, Squr Windor & lady, Capt Cortred & ladey, the Capt of the frigott with the Govenor of Albony, namly Captt Crockore, an hounist stout gentellman, unknowne to you & most of the rest."

In December, 1674, Smith addressed a letter "For the Worshipfull: John Smith Esqure—att his house in Nibley in the county of glosester"; which is also endorsed, "Mr Smith yt, he will come for England in ye Springe." This letter has a red wax seal with Smith's arms—the same found on many other Smith letters and the arms afterwards used by Richard Updike—and reads as follows:

"Much Honnored sir. my deare respets & servis to you selvfe and your honnored good Ladey with all your relacions, not forgetting your greate respet extended twowords me: since, my: departuer, in doeing what you could to maynetayne my intrest in my Abstanc, which I have had an acount of, I have since my departuer mett also with varyaues [various] sucksese in my Negociacions, having lost much by reson of the late ware, I intend by the first ship that comes from hence in the springe next, if god permit, to: waight upon you: if my Luife contuniey: and that withoutt fayle: where I hope to find your favoraball aspectt, and doe request your favoraball asistanc: still to contuney: relating to the Managment of that smalle mater I have in Eingland in kepeing it outt of the hands of roges & knaves, as hetherto: you have done, Robertt Thurston nott being so capaball: without your asistanc, all thatt I can doe att present is my thainkfull acknowlidgement for all your and my wellwishies twowards you and your, in hopes [t]ha[t] th[e] Lord will abundently recompenc: you not only in this

Luife butt in that to come is the Prayeres of him who is ever obleged to be and remayne your most obleged & humbell Servent.

RICH^D SMITH"

"Naragansett this 12 daye of Desember 1674."

"SIR this berer Namly mr William Haris¹ hath buisnas of conceren to manige in Eingland, I have advised him to advise with your worship aboutt it he is an Naybor of mine, an honest man: one that hath susstayned wrongs: and comes to gett: right if he can: your in humbell manar RICHARD SMITH."²

In a letter to Fitz-John Winthrop, written on February 12, 1674/5, Smith announces his intention of going to England in the spring. He says in this letter he longs to know what the result of the conference between Winthrop and the new government at York was, or what intelligence there is of commissioners coming over in the spring; and adds, "aney newes would be welcom unto me," adding politely, "excepting such as maye not stand with your intrest." He says further that he has written to Boston begging them to come up and make a division of the lands, and that he hopes to see Winthrop at his house also, and adds: "I hope also that Coneticott will setell goverment here this springe efectually, or elce we shall be hartlese, especally my selvfe, having bin threatned much by Rhode Islan what they will doe." The voyage to England was to be undertaken in order to present to the King a petition from the principal proprietors of Narragansett for a settled government.

On April 15, 1675, he wrote to Fitz-John Winthrop that he wanted to sail to New London, but was "crossed" for just the reason that would seem to have brought him there: "a fayer wind." The vessel was full of lumber and also had some "good fraight one bord, namly Mistris Sylvster & her daufter Mistrs Grisell, & negro Symoney to atend them, whome we savfly landed att Rhode island." He adds, "When att Shellter island, by sume discoursce I herd, I perceved your company theare "William Harris, "of the Pawtuxet Purchase," who represented the interests of Connecticut in the Narragansett Country as against those of Rhode Island.

² From Smyth Papers.

hath bin longe expected, and your abstance as much admired, for what causee I inquyred nott; it this I knowe, its savfer exposcing your selvfe to travell one drye land then over such water gapes as those, where the tyde runs so swift. I should be verey joyfull to see you att my howse, wheere noe gentellman should be more welcome, & if you then had a mind for devercion sake to gooe over to Rhode Island I will waight upon you. Sir, here is noe newes, only I had the hapynes to receve a leter from Major Pallms, who goott Savfe to Barbados, as also one from M^r. Coundy from New [illegible], boath carrying all in savfty, an aco of which I question not but you hav alredy. If nott, pray informin Mistris Parker with it." He adds in a postscript a few lines about [?]ette, who may have been a dog, for it is better to state that Richard Smith, Jr., had no children. "Sir, I thainke you for your love & kind treatement to my sonn, namly [?]ette. I hope he demened himselvfe well. Remember me to M^r Christophers and his wivfe. Praye tell her I will rather paye her [torn] for the muten my sonn stolle then he should come to open disgrasce." But who (or what) [?]ette was nobody knows!

June 4, 1675, he writes to John Winthrop that in about a month's time he will depart for England and will be glad to do anything there for him that he can; and he encloses a copy of a letter from the Dutch mayor of New York to Fitz-John Winthrop which contains this passage: "Wee had ye 9th instant two ships arrived from England, ye one from London, ye other from Amsterdam, but clered in England, who brings newes that all things at home are in a quiet & serene posture: the Parliamt sits, I hope to see a good understanding & kinde agrement with his Matie. There is speach of a treaty betwixt France & Holland, wherein his Matie is to be Umpire. My Lord Clarenden is dead; the Dutches of York is brought to bed of a daughter; Collonell Lovelace is in the Tower, what his portion is God knowes. Our Gov is gon to Delaware with Mr Mayor & 40 attendants to settle affares there." And three days later we learn that Smith forgot his rapier at Winthrop's house and wishes to know if anyone who is coming his way could bring it to him.

But these trifles were to be forgotten in the shadows cast by

coming events, and here it is necessary to make a brief statement of the causes which led to these events, as alluded to in the letters following. Mr. Winship makes this clear when he says:

"The Europeans who settled inland from Massachusetts Bay held forth an economic and social code which was phrased in the terms of a society which flourished some two thousand years earlier. It came out of a book, and when it was applied to the affairs of every day life, a good deal of it did not fit the changed conditions of existence. These New-English men and women of the seventeenth century lived in a make-believe world; they led a very practical, profitable, more or less happy existence, wherein they called a large proportion of the things they did by names which were fundamentally inaccurate. These names, and the code of which they were a part, had in many cases a much more direct application to the quite different practices of the people whom the settlers found living in the land they came to occupy. Hospitality was only one of the ancient virtues which the Narragansett Indians, who knew nothing of the Mosaic Code, held more precious than life.

"Difficulties arose between those holding these two sets of social theories. One episode in this conflict of ideas is known as 'King Philip's War.' The Narragansett Indians had nothing whatever to do with the beginning of that affair, and there seems to be no evidence that they took part in it at any time of their own initiative. They became involved when their inherited code of hospitality proved inconsistent with the conditions which they were told were embodied in certain written documents called 'Treaties' and 'Articles of Submission.' When the natives living about Mount Hope, eastward of Narragansett Bay, found themselves with killing to do, in the early summer of 1675, they promptly got rid of their women and children by sending them across the Bay. There was no close friendship between Philip's Wampanoags and the Narragansetts; and Uncas, who with his Pequots dwelt further westward, demon-

In his preface to the reprint A farther Brief and True Narration of the Great Swamp Fight in the Narragansett Country, December 19, 1675.

strated that there was no inherent bond which united all Indians against all Europeans. But when women and children sought shelter, the native code offered slight alternative to

granting the request.

"The months that followed the outbreak of hostilities brought serious loss of property and other causes of much sadness to the English colonists. The outlying farmers, the city tradesmen and the renegade sailors of the Boston waterfront alike learned to respect and hate the elusive redskins. They feared with ample reasons lest another season of continued disasters might complete the ruin of all that had been acquired during a half

century of almost unbroken prosperity.

"Out of a mass of rumours, the one thing certain regarding the whereabouts of their enemies in the early winter of 1675 was that a considerable number of Wampanoags were living with the Narragansetts, who refused to drive away these refugees or deliver them to the English to be sold as slaves in the West-Indies. Military considerations, no less than the imperative necessity of quieting the terrified critics of those who were responsible for the safety of the colony, called for a successful demonstration of the English power. A proclamation was published, designed to give the Narragansetts a final warning and to explain and justify the action of the English. A force of about a thousand troops was raised and sent into southern Rhode Island, where, during the night of December nineteenth, 1675, through the drifts of one of the worst recorded New-England snowstorms, they sought out and destroyed the Narragansetts."1

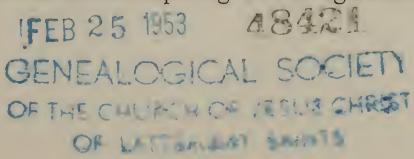
This was the background against which the letters immediately following were written.

On the fifth of August, 1675, Smith writes in great haste and

¹ It should be recalled that the Rhode Island Colony was not a party to the trouble and subsequent slaughter at the Swamp. The troops sent into the Narragansett country were those of the United Colonies, a union to which Rhode Island had been denied admission and we can find few evidences of Rhode Island men joining the troops. Smith's letters seem to show that the Narragansett Indians were simply obeying their ancient laws of hospitality and were not in any way desirous of fighting the English by whom, however, they had not been always well treated.

excitement caused by sudden trouble among the Indians. "This post just nowe coming have nott time, because nott willing to delayue him, to informe you att large, butt brievfly: Phillip is fled, and his woman and children came along above Providenc. The Providenc men and Secunk men with the Mohigan indyans kiled 14 of them; they fled and are goone as its suposed up to Quopage. The Naragansets hath bin outt 300 of them, brought me in seven heds of the Eniemy, also is nowe come home, and with them att lest 100 men women and children of Wettamores, the Pacusett Sachim squo and her with them. She is kind to Sucquauch & he deseyers all favor for her thatt can be. No Einglish hath it intilligenc of it butt my selvfe, two ouers sinc she & her men hath bin in aicion agaynst the Einglish. I shall give notis of it as sone as can to Boston Govro also, only ame willing to here first from you. Many straigling Indyans are abrode for mischif, sume Nip Nap indyans joynd with Philip, sume indyans in Plymouth Patan[t] are come in to the Einglish, aboutt 120 in all as I here."

This letter is followed by another on the third of September. Smith says: "Understanding by those went by with your horsis, thatt your hounor was goone by water to Boston, cane doe noe lese then present you with the tender of our servisis, and aquaint you thatt we are in jelasey whether the Naragansets will it prove loyall to the Einglish; it they pretend fayer and hath latly brought in to me seven of the eneymies heeds:, they being surprised by the Nipnaps first and delivred up to the Naragansett Sachem Conanicos. Here are very maney indland Indyans latly come in hither, and sume of the enamey amongst them, which they, I judge, will not deliver. I beleve yt Conanicos of him selvfe & sume others inclynes to pease rather then warr, butt have many unruly men which cares not what becoms of them. These indyans hath killed severall catell very latly. I refer you to Gov^r Leveretts leter herwith sent, to be informed what hath bin discovred or aicted in answar to his leter sent to Conanicos. I would willingly knowe the certainty of your gooeing for Eingland becauce would waite one you thither. It will be good to be moderate as respeting the Noragansets att



present I humbly conceve, for thatt a great body of pepol of them are here gathered two gether, may doe much mischif, and it if not brought into beter decorum, here will be noe living for Einglish."

The story is continued on the twelfth of September.

"I writt to you not longe sinc, & understood by the post you were nott well, since which we longe to here of you, & my wivfe is more then ordnary troubled because she heres you intend for Eingland, shee fering the voyge to be to hard for you to under gooe, by rescon of age & weaknes. I intend thether & should be glad to waight one you in the same shipe. Nothing hinders me, butt would fayne see all apearenc of ware over. As to the Naragansets, here are maney inland Indyans come hither, as they pretend, to shelter themselvfe for feare of the Einglish sowders. The Naragansets still request favor for Wittamore and her company, & the Seconett Squo & hers. Here is also severall of Phillips company come in & brought in by those, which these doe obsceuer all they can, and will not confese howe maney. It Cononocous hath broght in to me in all 14 heds, seven of which was latly, & sume of them Phillips chefe men. These being a greate numbr it will be good to be moderate with them as it; for should we have war with them they would doe greate damage. Ninicroft sent in also two heds longe sinc. I have writt att large to Gov^r Levretts hounor, which I refer you two, being herewith sent. I should be glad if I could be aictivfe in aney respectt wherby I might promotte aney thing thatt would tend to the peasce & wellfare of the Cuntrey; it latly I am informed att seccond hand from Capt Sylvister, thatt it was reported att Hartford that I had sowld the Indgens a barall of powdere. It was a greate untrueth, for I deneyed all Indyans selling them aney att all, and the more for thatt I sawe them greedy for it, & that long before the ware begune with Philip, so thatt whosoever was the raysor of that report did much abuse me; besyds I have had butt one barell of powder in my custody this yeare, most of which have yet by me. Hounoured Sir, I request the favor from you to wright me a lyne or two of the certanty of your gooeing for Eingland & the time.

My servis to M^r Willis & M^r Richards." The letter closes with a request for advice as to a farm he had bought of Atherton about which legal difficulties had arisen. In a postscript Smith adds: "The Naragansett sachems deseyers theyer hosteges may returen, they having they say aproved themselvfs loyall by bringing in of heads."

On October 27, 1675, another letter was sent. "Since my last by Mr Thomas More I have had oftentimes discoured with the Sachems in referenc to the delivering up the Wampanooges, who sayth they are foreward and willing to doe it, but saye it is nott feazaball for them to doe att present, many of them being outt a hunting, and theyer owne men being not so subbordinate to theyer comands in respete of afiniaty, being alyes to them, so thatt if by force they gooe aboutt to seeze them, many will escape. Two of waybacke indyans were here amongst these one horsebaicke latly, and last night came two more of those indyans to Cononocos, to bring inteligenc that theyer frends all the Prayinge indyans were seazed first & then kiled by Boston men, only they escaped, & that you intended a warr with the Naragansets sudenly. Quononshott [Canonchet] requests your favor as to grant him liberty that his brother and his relacions may have liberty to come from Harford to Naragansett and staye here with him this winter, he being nowe with the rest, as he sayth, confined to Harford towne. He verey much requests your favor herein, and that you would write to the gentellmen there to permit it, and send it hither and he will send it awaye, and with it requests you to send your certifacate that those he sends may pase unmolested. Ninicroft will deliver up his captivfs, only I advised him to kepe them att present, that so these others may not startt.

"The inhabitanc here are many goone and most removing for feare of dainger. The report comon amongst indyans and Einglish is att present of an armey coming up. I request your favor to give me timly notis if aney expadicion be hitherward; otherways ouer lines are in the hands of ouer Enemyes & surprised before we are aware; it I ame confident those att present deseyers not a ware and very fearfull at the newes, & if such a

thing were intended to have it publicke were disadvantagious. If your hounor please to aquaint the Gov hounor of Masatusett & the gentellmen with what I writt to you, to whome my humbell servis presented, intends not to move, butt first to have certayne inteligenc from you and them, which I request your hounors favor to expidate." To this letter Smith adds on the following day:

"These Sacham longs to here whether those proposalls by them made I have your honnors notis of, in the leter sent by Mr More, be aney waye exceptaball. I also longe to here what your hounors forther plesewer is."

These letters give significant side-light on Philip's War. In one (sent by Richard Williams) to Fitz-John Winthrop on November 3, 1675, Smith still speaks of Indian affairs.

"I knowe I ame two remise and carelese, which for the feuter I hope to amend, requesting your continued favor, having had much buisnas a brode & seldome at home, so that I could not render you such an aco of maters as otherways would have done; & knowing also thatt Mr Willis his Worship could informen you of all maters aicted att Boston, referd it to his intiligenc, sinc which those Sachem requeste it may not be ille taken by the Einglish that the Wampanoogs are not delivred up acording to time, for many of them were outt hunting ere he returned from Boston, and are outt still sume of them, butt saye it shall be done, and that they will by perswacion drawe them downe; for they alege if they gooe to forsce them maney will escape. And I advised Mr Stanton to advise with Ninicroft to retayne those Womponooges he had a litell longer, for fere it might be a hindrenc to these; butt I understand they are delivred up to your selvfe. I was ordred by the Comisnr to receve all I could, or aney that would be delivred, and to transport them with all convenient spede to Boston; for I understand by Agrement Boston men are to have them all, or what will be delivered and ordred me to paye for ym. Ame glad they are under your costody & thatt Ninicroft doth shewe himselvfe faithful and more foreward then these. The best waye, I humbly conceve, will be to send them by water if aney sudenly goes downe

from your parts, or otherwayes howe you please to order it. I have given your houndred father with the Govr of Boston an exaictt aco of althings here; have had no leter latly from them, so that what is intended as to the Naraganset non performenc of what they ingaged I knowe not. Much mischif done Eastward, & these jndyans have killed many of ouer catell by stelth. Many peapell are gone & most gooeing of from henc for feare; what the event of things will be, knowe nott. My selvfe intends sudenly for Eingland if a ware with those prevent me not."

The closing months of 1675, in fact, found the whole countryside in a state of alarm at the threatened coalition of the Narragansett Indians with King Philip, and these letters breathe this spirit of fear and distress. Smith suffered personally from the Indians by their raids upon his cattle, and they "did for some days seize and keep under a strong guard his house and family," but released them unhurt. After some deliberation the United Colonies concluded to raise a force to attack the Narragansetts in their own stronghold. But before doing so they issued the following proclamation, order, or manifesto.

"ATT a meeting of the Comissioners of the united Collonies by Adjournment in Boston November the 2 cond 16751

"Forasmuch as the Narraganfett Indians are deeply acceffory in the prefent bloudy outrages of the Barbarous Natives That are in open hostillitie with the English; This appearing by theire harbouring the actors thereof; Releiving and succoring theire weomen and children and wounded men, and detaining them in theire custody Notwithstanding the Covenant made by theire Sachems to deliver them to the English; and as is credibly Reported they have killed and taken away many Cattle from the English theire Naighbors; and did for some daies seize and keep under a stronge gaurd Mr. Smithes house and family; and att the Newes of the sadd and lamentable mischeiff that the Indians did unto the English att or neare hadley; did in a very Reproachfull and blasphemouse manor triumph and Rejoyce theratt;

"The Comissioners doe agree and determine that besides the

¹ Hazard's State Papers, Philadelphia, 1794, Vol. 11, p. 531.

number of fouldiers formerly agreed upon to be Raifed and to be in constant Reddines for the use of the Country there shalbe one thousand more Raised and furnished; with their armes and provisions of all sorts to be att one houres warning, for the publick fervice; the faid Souldiers to be raifed in like proportions in each Collonie as the former were; Alsoe they doe agree that AB: shalbe Comaunder in Chiefe over the said souldiers and that the faid AB: shall with the faid fouldiers march into the Narragansetts Country and incase they be not prevented by the Narragansetts Sachems actuall performance of theire Covenants made with the Comissioners by delivering up those of our enimies that are in theire costody; as alsoe makeing Reparation for all damages fustained by theire Neglect hitherto together with cecuritie for theire further fidelitie; then to Indeavor the compelling of them therunto by the best meanes they may or can or to proceed against them as our enimies.

Signed Thomas Hinckley, John Winthrop, Waitt Winthrop, Thomas Danforth, Presedent, William Stoughton, Josiah Winslow."¹

¹ The late Elisha R. Potter in his Early History of Narragansett, p. 82, in quoting the proclamation adds somewhat sarcastically: "As to the first of the reasons here given, we will remark, that good proof ought to have been required of the intentions of the Narragansetts to join the enemy, before a war could be justified against them. Something is however to be allowed for the critical situation of the colonists. The charge of their not having delivered up the women and children who had fled to them for protection, to the mercy of the Commissioners, (i.e. to be sold and transported into slavery) is a credit to their humanity. It was in strict accordance with their notions of honor. The next reason, a report that they had killed and carried off some cattle from the English, might do very well as a reason for a war between two petty savage tribes, but does not sound quite so well in a declaration of war, by a people claiming to be civilized. Another reason is, that they had seized and kept possession of Smith's house for some days. They had indeed seized it, but left it again after a few days, without doing any injury of consequence. The last reason is a strange one; the Indians it seems had rejoiced at the success of their friends! How improper! Probably if the Indians had had their festival in the shape of a fast or a thanksgiving, their opponents would not have

See also note containing a letter from Major William Bradford, dated Narragansett, Nov. 26, 1675, enclosing another from Joseph Dudley, later governor, to Governor Leverett, written from "Mr. Smith's" Oct. 21, 1675, quoted in Thomas Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts-Bay, Cambridge, 1936, Vol. I, pp. 254-257.

The Commissioners accordingly sent an army of a thousand men from Massachusetts and Plymouth under General Josiah Winslow to Smith's Narragansett estate, selected as headquarters, where they were met by the Connecticut soldiery. On December 18, 1675, the united forces proceeded some distance from Cocumscussuc, and on the following day—which was a Sunday—attacked the Indians, in what was known as the Great Swamp Fight, and after a terrible engagement, but with great loss to themselves, returned after a hard night march through the snow to Smith's. Richard, Daniel, and James Updike were engaged in this expedition. Daniel and James were wounded, Richard was killed; and on the return of the English troops to their headquarters at Smith's Castle, he and about forty others were buried in one grave not far from the house. "The grave of the forty," as it is called, was for many years marked by a tree, known as "the grave apple-tree," and now by a memorial tablet. The place at which the Great Swamp Fight occurred is also marked by a monument, placed there by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars, in 1906. It bears this inscription: "Attacked within their Fort upon this Island the Narragansett Indians made their last stand in King Philip's War and were crushed by the United Forces of the Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth Colonies in the 'Great Swamp Fight,' Sunday, 19 December, 1675."1

Smith's house was protected by about seventy men for some time after, but was finally abandoned about March 15, 1676/7, Massachusetts being unable to sustain the garrison longer. Immediately afterwards it was burned by the Indians. A letter, written from Wickford on the eighteenth of June, 1678, Smith addressed to William Leete. This William Leete was a man of considerable distinction. He was born in England about 1613 and, espousing the Puritan cause, sailed for America in 1639. After sustaining with credit various posts in the New Haven Colony, he became its Deputy Governor in 1658, and Governor

¹ See A Record of the . . . Unveiling of the Monument commemorating the Great Swamp Fight, December 19, 1675, in the Narragansett Country, Rhode Island. Printed for the Society of Colonial Wars, 1906.

from 1661 to 1664. In the latter year through Leete's influence the New Haven Colony submitted to the Connecticut charter of 1662. He became Deputy Governor of the Connecticut Colony from 1669 to 1676, when on Winthrop's death, he succeeded him as Governor until his death at Hartford, in 1682. To him Smith writes: "This is onley to acquaint your Wrship thatt Rhode Island men intends to kepe Courtt att Thomas Goulds house fryday next or saterdaye, after which I will give you an aco of all theyer aicions. Sir, nott withstanding the obstrucion you mett with when here, I hope you will still furder our setellment and the Coloneyes intrest, thatt we maye nott be made a praye of or [torn] to the cencer of unresonabell persons. They bost, as I have informed, howe much they have had the beter. I hope your Colony will maynetayne theyr intrest." Smith petitioned the King in 1678, saying that, as the "government of Rhode Island had refused to protect the dwellers in Narragansett during the late Indian war, whereby they lost all they had, and were left defenceless, having to trust to Massachusetts for aid," he again desired to have the lands about him annexed to Connecticut. The Crown called the Rhode Islanders to account for the charges brought in this petition, and ended by commanding all who claimed land in the Narragansett country to present their petitions.

Roger Williams, testifying to the justice of Smith's claim, July 2, 1679, says, "that since his [Richard Smith, Senior's] departure, his honrd son, Capt. Richard Smith, hath kept possession (with much acceptation, both with English and Pagans) of his Father's howsing, lands and meadoes, with great emprovement; allso by his great Cost and Industrie; and in the late bloudie Pagan war I knowingly testifie that it pleased the Most High to make use of himselfe in person, his howsing, goods, corne, provision and cattell for a Garrison and supply to the whole Army of New England, under the command of ever to be honoured General Winslow, for the service of his Majesty's honour and countrey in New England. I do also humbly declare that the aforesaid Capt. Richard Smith, junr, ought by all the rules of Justice, Equitie and Gratitude (to his Honrd

Father and himself) be fairly treated with, considered, recruited, honoured, and by his Majesty's Authoritie Confirmed and established in a peaceful possession of his Father's and his own possessions in this Pagan wilderness and Nahigonsik Countrey. The premises I humbly testifie as leaving this Countrey and this World."

In 1679 Smith, with many others, again petitioned the home government, giving the history of his father's settlement, quoted in the sketch of Richard Smith, Sr., and once more complained that the refusal of the Rhode Islanders to protect the dwellers in King's Province had caused the country to become "a desolate wilderness againe; and, instedd of Christian people, replenished with howling wolves and other wild creatures," adding that "being wearied out with the former contests and the trouble . . . mett with from both collonies commanding" them, they wish a distinct government of some sort. Finally the Atherton proprietors sent still another petition to the King, by William Harris, about Christmas, 1679, which came to naught, for Harris was taken by the Barbary pirates in January, 1680, and sold as a slave in Algiers, where he remained a year—an occurrence very uncomfortable for poor Harris, who was favorable to Connecticut, but not displeasing to the Rhode Island party, a member of which described his capture by saying "it hath pleased God to direct his course to Algier." Harris finally was ransomed, for about £450, but died on reaching London, in the winter of 1680/1.

The question about the redemption of slaves was of acute interest. Barbary pirates took large numbers of captives, many of them New England men. These could be ransomed, but at great price. Mr. Smith's nephew, Daniel Updike, was one of the men taken and imprisoned at Algiers. He was finally ran-

I He was captured in 1680 on his way to England. William Harris, writing to Francis Brinley at Newport says, "Pray tell Mr. Smith, Daniel Updike is well. He may do well to redeem him." And two days later in a letter to his wife Harris writes, "Since I came, I saw Daniel Updike, and he says he had a plague sore, and that the sickness is here every summer, and begins in May, and that the last summer here died 9 or 10 of the English captives, but some say not so many. Speak to Mr. Smith to redeem him and tell Lodowick, his brother, Mr. Smith, Mr. Brinley

somed by his uncle. "Between the years 1674 and 1681 five or six thousand English slaves were brought into Algiers and about 350 vessels captured, and at the peace of April 1682, the Dey refused to surrender a single English slave, leaving the general to bargain with their several masters as best he could for their ransom. . . . The condition of the slaves was most pitiable. Such as belonged to the Dey were imprisoned in the Bagnio. They had a ration of black bread and a little soup once a day: they were compelled to labour incessantly, some at the quarries outside the town: others were harnessed to stone carts like mules: many had to labour at the ovens when bread was made for the Jannissaries, and their lot was even more miserable than the others. The least wretched were the skilled artisans, but these found it almost impossible to obtain their freedom, so useful were they to the State. Such as were owned by private individuals were even more unfortunate than the others, being treated worse than beasts of burden and liable to every species of cruelty and torture that their pitiless masters could devise. The only consolation left to them was the ministrations of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who devoted their time and often sacrificed life itself in solacing their misfortunes."1

In August, 1683, a meeting of the Royal Commissioners, who were appointed by the King to settle the dispute about the Narragansett lands, was held at Richard Smith's by the Hon. Edward Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, his colleagues being William Stoughton, Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Pynchon, Jr., and Samuel Shrimpton; but this meeting was objected to by the Governor of Rhode Island (who, with the General Assembly, was sitting at Warwick near by) as being within Rhode Island's jurisdiction. He accordingly sent a messenger with a letter, warning the court that the Governor of Rhode Island would wish to see its commission before it proand others." Richard Smith, Jr., his uncle, finally ransomed him for 1,500 gunlocks; and a curious tradition exists that he came from England to thank Major Smith for his ransom, passed one night at Cocumscussuc, and the next day embarked for England again. He died in London in 1704.

¹ R. Lambert Playfair in Murray's Algeria and Tunis, 1887.

ceeded. This Cranfield offered to show him, at which the messenger seems to have stopped his ears and fled. To the letter Cranfield refused to reply, saying "he knew of no Governor in the King's Province." I

The Rhode Islanders, who were still assembled in the neighbourhood, forbade the holding of the court, and ordered their general sergeant "to publish this prohibition at or near Mr. Richard Smith's house," which he did "in a riotous manner, with a great number of horsemen." Cranfield, after waiting two days at Cocumscussuc, departed for Boston. The curious spectacle of these two courts, held only a mile apart, each prohibiting the other in the King's name, gives an idea of some of the inconveniences of dwelling in the King's Province. It is not surprising that the angry commissioners upheld the claim of the Atherton purchasers, and decided that they should be governed by Connecticut rather than Rhode Island.

A letter written almost four years later, dated the fifth of May, 1679, was addressed to Fitz-John Winthrop on Smith's return from another journey, apparently to England. In this he says, apologetically: "The crime I have comited is of so highe a nateuer, hardly I doute to be exceused for omiting my deuty & respets I owe to you in not kising your hand by a line or two at this time since my arivall, butt the truth of it is I did longe since intende to have personaly waighted on you, & nowe without fayle in order to have gone to Harford also, butt ame prevented, being cequerity for Mr John Sanfen, who is bound in a recognisonc to the King £2000 by Rhode Island men for seting up an advertisment wherin he declers Naragansett to be in the Government of Coneticott, for which they charge him with subvercion of Goverment. I sopose they take all att Coneticott to be French men. I latly sawe your brother & Madam Wharton, & inquyred of them for the rest of your relacions, who were

I Potter tells this differently: "The Assembly wrote to him to request him to exhibit his commission, and sent the letter by a special messenger. Cranfield asked who it was from? and on being answered by the messenger that it was from the Governor and Colony of Rhode Island, he said he knew no such Governor or Colony," Early History of Narragansett, p. 104.

all well then." In another letter to Fitz-John Winthrop written a year or two later (on January 8, 1681/2) he asks him to approve an arrangement which he made to let a farm on Boston Neck to a man whom he thinks a desirable tenant.

The Smith-Winthrop correspondence closes with four letters to Fitz-John Winthrop at his house in New London. The first is dated April 13, 1682. He writes: "The indyan you bought of Cosasinaman nowe here & requests you to give him so much liberty untell catching of Springe fish be over, he being it in debt for his Squaes redencion, & as sone as that is done he doe promise to come without fayle to you; this he deseyred me to wright to you for him & I beleve he will not fayle butt come. Sir, I have lett outt your land in Boston Necke oute mora to one of Blocke Island, for tene yeares att eight pounds pr anam, have drawne artickles betweene us of the contraictt. I hope this will not fayle." And after some paragraphs about a man named Wood who took a broad-axe and failed to pay for it Smith adds in a postscript: "Mr Arnold will not sell his boate nor could I find aney one there fitt for your turen to be sould. Robert Hasard hath almost promised me he will buld on for you."

The last of the letters is dated Wickford, July 15, 1684, and mentions a few visitors at Cocumscussuc and adds that Mr. Stoder arrived from London, having had a thirteen weeks' passage, bringing, as he says, no news, "only a nocion of the Deuck of Grafton coming Gov^r for N: E:." But Rhode Islanders are still represented as vexing to live among: "I am highly thretned to be consyned to theyre joyle, where I may be spoken with att aney time. These doge days makes men mad, I thinke, but I hope violent distempers will not hould longe. Ether mend or kill. Mr Redfords token & leter is herewith sent, which he was pleased to hounor me with as barer hither & have nowe betrusted a Prince with it, namly Memoko, who hath promised great care aboutt it. My wivfe presents her humbell servis to you & yor frends & so doth him who will ever owne himselvfe yor obleged frend & servent. My respets to Major Palms & his lady & children."

In September of this same year, 1684, Smith sent a memorial

to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Hartford, saying that he "in the time of the late troubles and ware with the Indians here att Nanhigansett, did suffer much in his estate by entertayning the many companeys of soulders, at his cost and charge, sent up by the Collonys; for which noe recompense hath it [yet?] bin done. . . . 1st. Major Savage and companeys with about six hundred, and Connecticut forces with him under command of Capt. Winthrop, they had horse shoes and nayles to value £3.12s, besides their entertaynment eight or ten days, never paid one farthing. After which the entertaynment of the whole army, myself and six of my servants being in service, one of which was slain at the swamp fight, had no alowance for our service. Also, 26 head of cattel killed and eat by the soulders, with 100 goates at least, and att least 30 fatt hogs; all the coper, bras, and wooden vessells for the army's use spoyled, stole and lost, to the value of £100 sterling; greate part of my post and rayle fences being fetched and burnt by the soulders; my oxen and cartt utensills being all lost after the garrison went away, and lastly my housing burnt, being of great value. All which is too much for one perticular man to bear, I having been to my utmost power ready to serve the Country always in what I could, nor ever had anything alowed me for all above expressed, only for what the comassarayes kept a acco. of, which was most salt provisions kept by me by order for use of the army. Other men have had satisfaction in some measure, and when I last petitioned your Honors at Boston, I had a promise of consideration, wherefor the second time I doe request yr Honors to take the premises into your judicious and wise consideration to allowe me in yor wisdom what you shall think requescett." The three Colonies accordingly allowed some reimbursement, each paying its proportion.

During the last years of Charles II's life, agitation for the suppression of the Massachusetts charter was in progress, and it was only because of the King's death in 1685 that it was not accomplished in his reign. As early as 1676 Edward Randolph had been sent out from England to report to the home government on violations of the laws of trade by the Colonies.

With his various journeys we have nothing to do, but after the accession of James II, in 1685, Randolph again appeared in New England, armed with a writ of quo warranto against the Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and with power to set up a temporary government until a royal governor was appointed. To this arrangement Smith seems to have been favourable. A president and council (of which in 1687 he was a member) were nominated to govern Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province. This president was Joseph Dudley, and the secretary Randolph. On May 28, 1686, Richard Smith was made a justice of the peace, and Sergeant Major and chief Commander of his Majesty's Militia, both horse and foot, within the Narragansett country or province. This appointment gave him his title of Major.

In June, 1686, Randolph proceeded to Narragansett, where Dudley and his council were holding court, and read the commission of the new governor, Sir Edmund Andros.² The names of several townships were changed, Kingstown being re-christened Rochester.³ In December of the same year Andros finally arrived, and Richard Smith was made a member of his council. He petitioned Andros for the restoration of Hog Island near Bristol, which he had purchased of the Indians, but which was

[&]quot;The members of the council of Andros, nominated . . . for Rhode Island [were] Walter Clark, Walter Newberry, John Greene, Richard Arnold, John Albourn, and Richard Smith, while Edward Randolph seems to have been appointed without special reference to either province. . . . Among the number who acted as judges at times, I have ascertained in addition to those already mentioned, Mason, Wait Winthrop, Gednay, Hinks, and Nicholson. Pinchon acted as such in his own country, and Walley, Smith and Byfield in Rhode Island and Bristol." Washburn's Judicial History of Massachusetts, p. 127.

^{2 &}quot;Whether the commissions and instructions of James the Second to his Governor were more or less 'illegal' and 'arbitrary' than the charter which his beheaded father had granted to Massachusetts, and which 'knew no representative body,' was certainly not a question for Andros to answer. He was not to blame because his king had directed New England to be governed by himself and his counsellors without an Assembly. His duty was to execute his Sovereign's commands; and this duty he did." Broadhead's "Government of Sir Edmund Andros over New England." Paper read before the New York Hist. Soc. in 1866, pp. 18, 20.

³ Potter's Early History of Narragansett, p. 106. Also Updike's Narragansett Church (2nd ed.), Vol. 1, p. 27 and note.

claimed by Rhode Island, and the phrasing of the paper shows his evident satisfaction at the accession of Andros. In June, and September, 1687, March, 1687/8, June, and December, 1688, he sat as justice at courts held at Newport and Rochester.

Upon the fall of the Andros government, Richard Smith's fortunes, which had seemed at last to have arrived at some settled state, were again thrown into confusion by the reorganization of the government of Rhode Island, and its renewed claim for jurisdiction in the King's Province. The controversy was not settled in his lifetime; not indeed until 1726. "Finally, however, Rhode Island prevailed, but in the meantime the principal land owners in the King's Province had absorbed nearly all the land, for only men of large means and of considerable political power, could maintain themselves during the long struggle."

Major Smith's wife's Christian name was Esther, and Smith constantly alludes to her as his cousin, but her family name has eluded careful search. Roger Williams, writing to "his much honored kind friend, Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut present from Mr. Smith's at Nahigansic, June 25, 1676," says, "Mr. Smith is now absent at Long Island. Mrs. Smith, though too much favoring the Foxonians (called Quakers) yet she is a notable spirit for courtesy towards strangers, and prays me to present her great thanks for your constant remembrance of her, and of late by Capt. Atherton." One can picture her as a quiet, gentle soul, and, being childless, lonely in her husband's Narragansett holdings—amid the struggles of the Atherton Company with the many claimants for the Narragansett lands, desiring "a better country, that is an heavenly." Williams in another letter to Winthrop, again mentions her as sending her "great thanks and service to him."

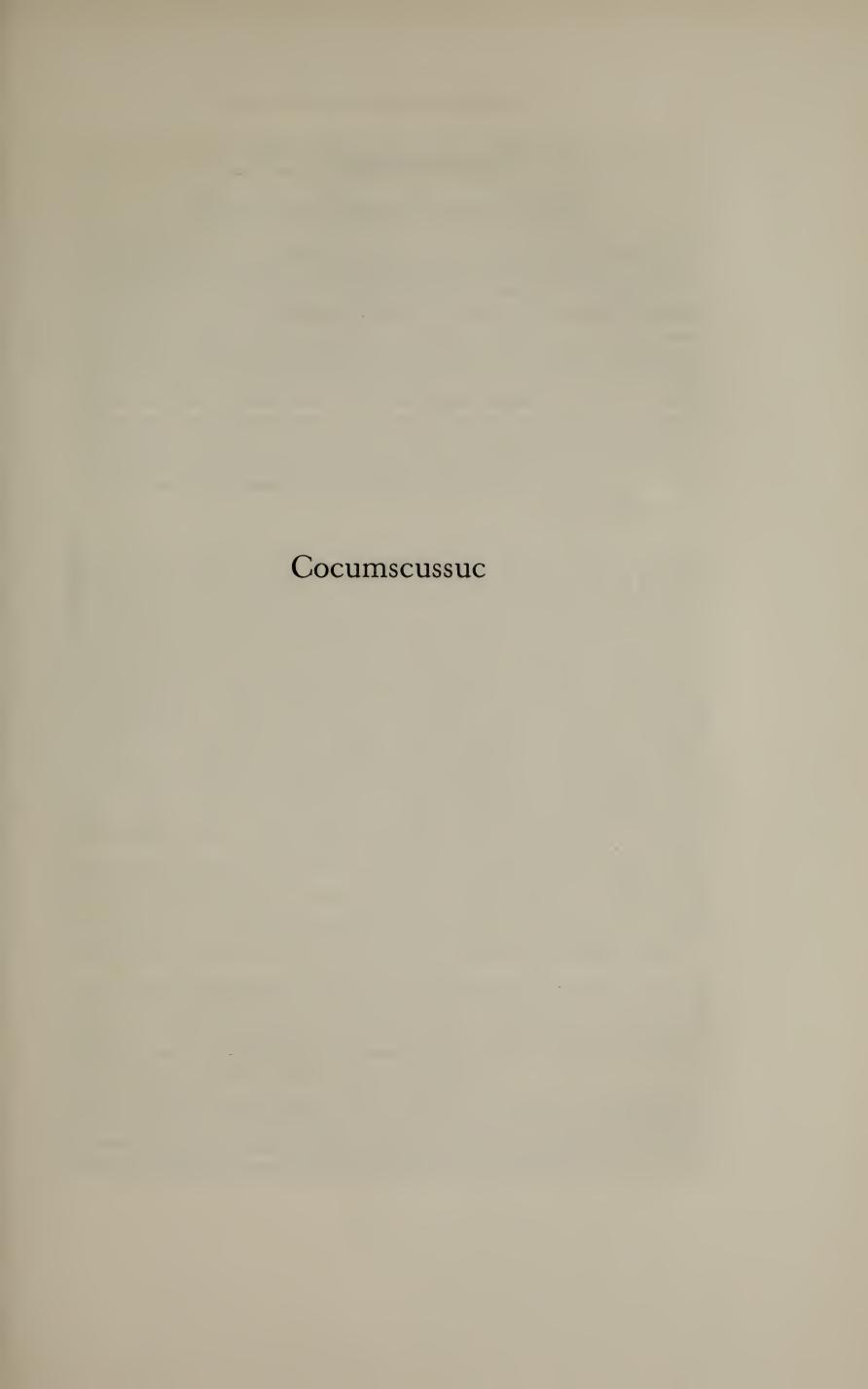
Richard Smith, Jr., died at Cocumscussuc in 1692. In his will he left all his property to his wife for life, and then, after numerous small bequests, gave the greater portion of his estate, including Cocumscussuc to his nephew, Lodowick Updike. His other nephews, Daniel and James Updike, received gifts ¹ Channing's Narragansett Planters.

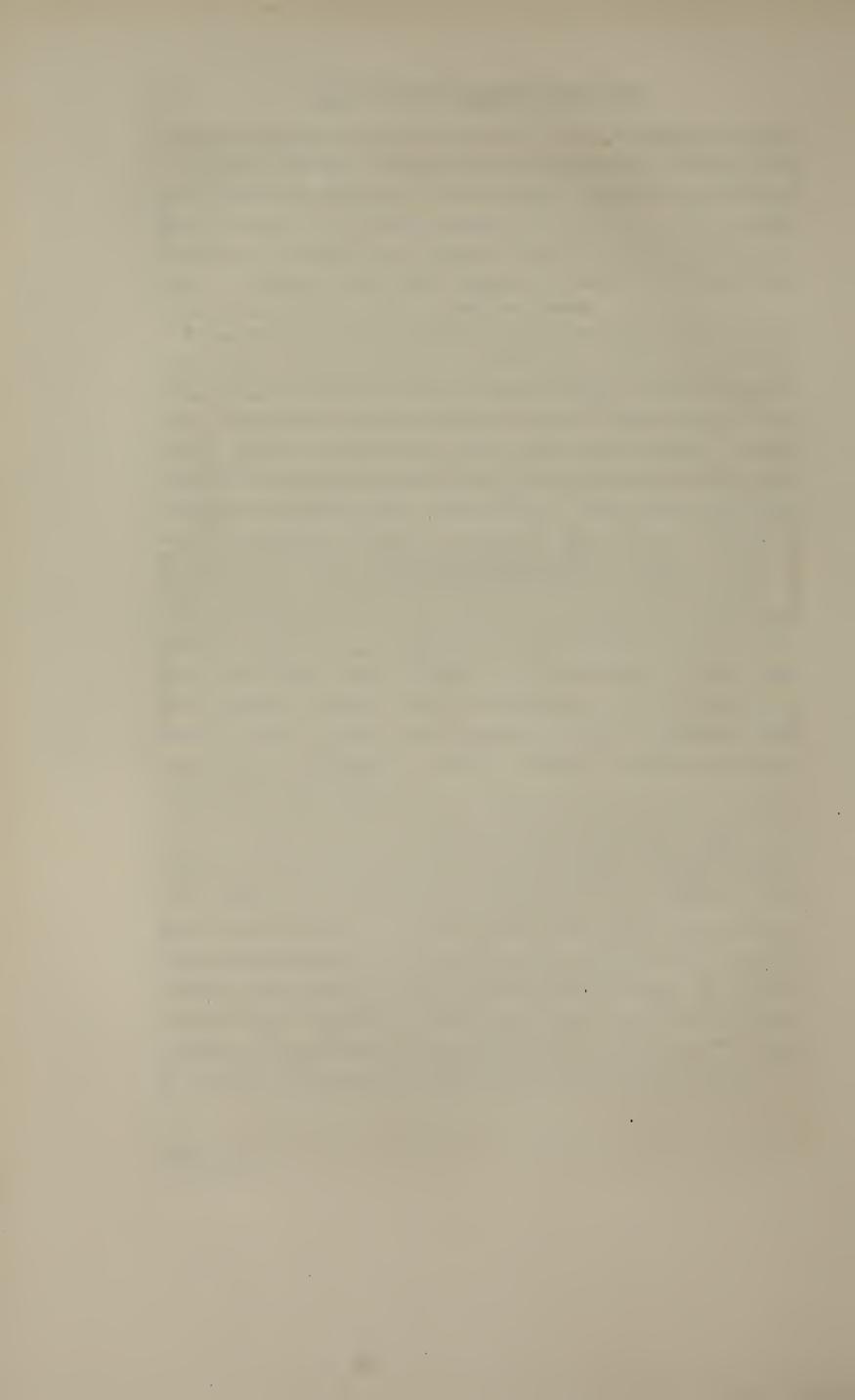
of land. A house and island which he owned at Bristol he gave to Thomas Newton of London, and his house at Newport he gave to Francis Brinley. To Lodowick Updike's son Richard he also bequeathed a sum of money. Mrs. Smith and Lodowick Updike were named as executors, but Mrs. Smith not surviving her husband, Lodowick appeared before the Royal Commissioners July 12, 1692, as sole executor.

From the inventory of Major Smith's property we learn that there was, near the house, a warehouse, a shop, and a storehouse; that the kitchen to one of these houses contained pewter, iron, and brass; that the kitchen of the "Great House" contained chairs, candlesticks, and other small things, besides twelve guns and some small arms; that there was a dairyroom, and that in the hall of the "Great House" there was a small seabed (hammock), furniture, a map of the world, a "platt" of Boston, and a "paire of colours," and other things, "a closet in which books were kept, and a little closet, a porch chamber in which, besides the usual furniture, was a rug and a red leather trunk, a hall chamber, apparently Mr. Smith's, in which were three beds with suits of curtains and coverlets, and that there were servants' rooms. There were besides, plate; wearing apparel; a chest of pewter and brass ware; a watch; gold and silver rings; Spanish, English, and New England money; andirons; and "a clock at Boston."

The livestock of the place consisted of three horses, thirty sheep, twenty swine, one hundred and thirty-five cattle. And Smith also had an interest in the sloop *Primrose*. Major Smith's total effects, not counting the land which was really his chief wealth, amounted to £1159. He also owned eight negro slaves: Caesar and his wife, an old negro woman named Sarah, their five children, and another negro named Ebed Meleck. In his will he gave their freedom to Caesar and Sarah and Ebed Meleck, and also to the children when they should be thirty years of age, and he also bequeathed to them one hundred acres of land.

¹ Hog Island.





Cocumscussuc¹

Sometimes called Smith's Castle

"The house was of no marked antiquity, yet of a well-advanced age; older than a stale novelty, but no canonized antique; faded, not hoary; looking at you from the still distinct middle-distance of the early Georgian time, and awakening on that account the instincts of reminiscence more decidedly than the remoter, and far grander, memorials which have to speak from the misty reaches of mediævalism. The faces, dress, passions, gratitudes, and revenges of the great-great-grandfathers and grandmothers who had been the first to gaze from those rectangular windows, and had stood under that keystoned doorway, could be divined and measured by homely standards of to-day. It was a house in whose reverberations queer old personal tales were yet audible if properly listened for; and not, as with those of the castle and cloister, silent beyond the possibility of echo."

THOMAS HARDY.

In 1637, as it would now appear, Richard Smith, Senior, came to Narragansett, made a later purchase of the Indians about 1641, and some years after bought of Roger Williams his trading station;² followed by other extensive purchases individually and in company with others, which need not be described here. The Williams purchase included two "murderers" outside—such being the startling name given in those days to the small cannon which were then mounted in defense of it. Smith used probably his first house only as a trading-post until 1659, and we know very little about it. Tradition says that it was built with timber floated from Taunton—a blockhouse—half house, half fort. The site is said to have been somewhat southwest of the present house, and partly over the brook. Low-lying, its terraced garden washed by the waters of a little salt inlet, it stood on the old Indian trail—the Pequot path.

¹ An Indian word signifying Stony Brook and referring to the stream which runs through the grounds to the bay. This brook was the boundary of one (perhaps both) of the Atherton purchases. The place was also called Smith's Castle, and on an English map of 1777 Wickford appears under the name of Updike's Harbour, and on a French map of 1780 as "Havre d'Updikes."

² Roger Williams was a frequent visitor there, after the sale. "As indicative of how much time Mr. Williams spent there, it is proper to mention that between the years 1645–1651 there are forty-one letters written by him, now preserved. Of these, twenty-eight were written from the Trading House."

The letters written from this house if perused in full are dreary reading—an interminable record of disputes about land, about laws, about religion, about Indian skirmishes, about sickness and death. Grim traditions still survive of those early years. The Indian spy who was drawn and quartered on the little green between the house and the road, with whose head the soldiers played at bowls; the hideous story of the burning of an old woman in the neighbourhood by a son greedy for his inheritance; who, detected through the words of her apparition, was hanged in chains for his sins; the heads of Indians brought in to Major Smith; the retreat through the snow after the Swamp Fight, and the burial of forty English in the Great Grave these tales must have made little children creep shivering to bed while their elders drew nearer to the lights and to the fire! And later the defense of the old house against the Indians by its mistress and her maids;2 the curious figure of the English priest Blackstone arriving to conduct each month the English service (for at this house the first regular offices of the Church of England took place, of which there is any record in Rhode Island); the solitary traveller3 who after months of toil in the galleys of Algiers arrived for but one night to thank his kins-

She had considerable knowledge of medicine, and tradition says she treated the ills of both the Indians and her own slaves. An antique mortar, pestle, and weights, for preparing medicine, supposed to have been used by her in her practice, are in the South County Hospital, the gift of the writer. She died at a great age. Her will was made May 10, 1742, and passed May 8, 1745.

¹ There is a tradition that an Indian having been caught as a spy by the English at Cocumscussuc was drawn and quartered near the house and his head cut off and the soldiers played at bowls with it. The legend is given in a slightly different form by the late Rev. Daniel Goodwin who told me that the story goes that the Indian was impaled by the English something in the manner of a crucifixion.

² Mrs. Lodowick Updike pacified the Indians who threatened to attack Cocumscussuc. The whites had taken the Indian chiefs away with them to the north and their followers threatened the women who were left behind at Smith's Castle. Mrs. Updike addressed the savages and told them that all were in a like plight—their chiefs and hers—and that the danger and distress of whites and Indians was the same. The Indians were pacified. On another occasion she and her household defended the mansion against attack and actually fired (through loopholes in the solid shutters) on the savages, until they were repulsed.

³ Daniel Updike, son of Gysbert op Dyck.

man for his ransom from this slavery and then disappeared never to return; years after, the night Sir Edmund Andros passed there with his retinue, a few months only before his seizure and disgrace; and later still the tragedy of the gentlewoman known to the countryside as "the unfortunate Hannah Robinson," as beautiful as she was unhappy—all these old memories, all these ghosts of things past, saturate the house with the fulness of human experience, that sorrow, joy, pain, love, surprise, which makes up what we call life. The first owner came there to seek peace—Ense petit placidam—did he find it? And did his wife—she was a famous housewife (a notable spirit for courtesy, Winthrop says) with reputation for a leech's skill among the Indians, who too much favoured the opinions of the Foxonians, as Quakers were then called—did she feel that she had chosen the better part, by leaving the house in Gloucestershire for the land where, as old Richard quaintly puts it—"by God's mercy and the favour of the Nahiggonset Indians" he put up the first English house. Who can say? And who shall count the innumerable letters to the younger Winthrop for his famous Rubila powder? It was here2 that Roger Williams wrote that charming letter to Governor Winthrop, "Sir, I constantly think of you, and send up one remembrance to heaven for you, and a groan from myself for myself, when I pass Elizabeth's Spring.3 Here is the Spring, say I, (with a sigh) but where is Elizabeth? My charity answers, she is

¹ She eloped with her lover during a dance given at this house by her step-aunt, Mrs. Lodowick Updike.

² From Mr. Richard Smith's, June 13th, 1675.

^{3 &}quot;The Spring so called from Governor Winthrop's lady, named Elizabeth, drinking at it as she passed to Boston." The Spring was near the head of Greenwich Cove and some miles from Richard Smith's.

⁴ Mrs. Elizabeth Winthrop, the wife of John Winthrop, Jr., died November 24, 1672. She was a daughter of Edmund Reade of Wickford, Essex, England. John Winthrop (born 1681), the son of Waitstill and grandson of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, and Elizabeth, his second wife, in a "Mem. of a Journey from New London to Boston," dated July, 1704, says: "Came to Wickford about Noone. It being very Hott, we stopt Here till Munday, wn in ye Morning Early, just as ye Day Broke, we set out, came to Elizabeth's Spring at Sun Rise, a place so called from my Grandmother's Drinking at it in her travels up

gone to the Eternal Spring and Fountain of Living Waters. Oh, Sir, I beseech the Father of Mercies and Spirits to preserve your precious soul in life long and long."

In 1684 the house was burnt by the Indians. Tradition tells us that in the present house are the materials of the old: an important question which has at times deeply agitated the oldest inhabitant. But how much of the old house is in the new: and how old the new is: no one knows. And as one recalls the motto that Richard Smith, Jr.'s correspondent, the Worshipful John Smith of North Nibley put upon a house he built:

NUNC MEI, MOX HUJUS SED POSTEA, NESCIO CUJUS

it is after all of no great consequence!

The plan of the house, somewhat as it now exists,2 shows a

to Connecticut in ye beginning of ye Country. . . . Wickford also had its name from her, it Being ye place of Her Nativity in old England." A room in the North Kingstown High School has been named after her, and decorated at the expense of members of the Winthrop family, and a room in memory of Richard Smith by his Updike descendants.

"As to the date of the erection of the old Smith-Updike house at the head of the North Cove, in Wickford, I am inclined to believe that it must be set, for at least part of the structure, at about 1639. You will note on page xv of the 'History of the Narragansett Church,' that your grandfather gives good reason for placing the building of Richard Smith's first house at that date approximately, calculating backward from the date of Roger Williams' testimony. Then on page 119 he gives his opinion that Richard's 'first English house or fort' . . . 'Is now standing in North Kingstown, in a good state of preservation.' I do not know of any other evidence. I have conversed with your late cousin, Alfred Reynolds, upon the subject, and he maintained with great decision, that the present house is the one originally built by Richard Smith, at the above date, doubtless deriving his information from older members of the family. I presume the explanation of the discrepancy in the two inventories is that additions may have been made in the interval and, perhaps, some portion removed, without destroying the identity of the house. In the cellar is an immense rock which might have hindered the selection of the site for the original cellar, while in case of an extension of the building, it may have become necessary to cover it. Most of the old chimneys were on the outside, but this one is in the middle of the house, suggesting an extension. The house is said still to be of solid timber, i.e. a block house, although the modern clapboards, of course conceal it." Rev. Daniel Goodwin in a letter to the writer.

² For the plan see *Drawing* ² in Antoinette F. Downing's *Early Homes of Rhode Island*, Richmond, 1937, and for arrangement of beams *Drawing* 13. A view of the kitchen fireplace is shown in *Plate* 60.

staircase and two square rooms towards the water and at the back a long kitchen or hall, at the east end of which there are smaller rooms which serve no obvious purpose. And on the second story except for the two rooms which give on the staircase it is quite impossible to understand how the other bedrooms were reached, except through each other. But in old times there was not much attention paid to these things.

"In the matter of sleeping arrangements we have certainly made an advance on those of our ancestors," says Mr. Baring Gould. "Upcott, which belonged to a family of that name that expired in the reign of Henry VII... has or had but a single bedroom. There may have been, and there probably was, a separate apartment for the squire and his wife, over the parlour, which was rebuilt later; but for all the rest of the household there existed but one large dormitory over the hall, in which slept the unmarried ladies of the family, and the maid-servant, and where was the nursery for the babies. All the men of the family, gentle and serving, slept in the hall about the fire on the straw, and fern, and broom that littered the pavement. . . .

"Things were improved in this particular later; many bedrooms were constructed, communicating with each other. At the head of the stairs slept the squire and his wife, and all the rooms tenanted by the rest of the household were accessible only through that. The females, daughters of the house and maid-servants, lay in rooms on one side, say the right, the maids in those most distant, reached through the apartments of the young ladies; those of the men lay on the left, the sons of the house nearest the chamber of the squire, the serving-men furthest off. . . . This arrangement still subsists in our old fashioned farm-houses."

Plans and data about the Smith house are given in Isham and Brown's Early Rhode Island Houses which says of it: "In 1680, Richard Smith, the Younger, constructed the present building partly from the materials of the old 'garrison.'... The walls, which in the first story at least are quite thick, are no doubt filled with brick. We did not discover whether the chimney was of stone below the attic floor. Above that floor it is of

brick, but is probably new, for the whole roof is later than the original house. There were gables on the front of the house, it is said, but there seems to have been no overhang.

"In each of the large rooms of the house there are, . . . two summers crossing each other at right angles. The summer which carries the joists is that which runs from the end-girt to the chimney-girt, parallel, that is, to the front of the house. The other was probably put in for ornament, as it, with the first, divided the ceiling into four large squares. This arrangement is poor constructively, as the beams have either to be halved together in the centre, or tenoned—the first into the second. As all the beams are cased, this cross summer might be considered a mere built-up affair of thin pine boards; but we meet the same arrangement at Newport, in the Spencer house, where there can be no doubt of the genuineness of the beams. . . .

"One of these large rooms must have been the 'hall' mentioned in the inventory of Richard Smith, Junior, in 1692. This document specifies the goods contained in the following buildings and rooms: 'warehouse, shop, kitchen in great house, store house chamber, hall, dairy room, kitchen chamber, porch chamber, hall chamber, lean-to chamber, etc., etc.'

"Of these, the kitchen, hall, kitchen chamber, porch chamber, hall chamber, lean-to chamber, and possibly the dairy room, belong in this house. The evidence of the cellar wall, which shows very plainly where the new excavations which have been made have exposed the back of the old foundation wall, has been relied on for the statement . . . that the room at the north-east is an addition. Under what we have assumed to be the original wall of the house on the north-west there is now no wall in the cellar and no signs of any jointing in the chimney foundation. A large beam spans, in the cellar, the distance from the outer stone wall to the chimney, and, as the post shown in the north-west wall stands upon this stick, it seemed to us that it was the original sill of the house, and that the room on the north-west was also an addition. It may not be, however; and,

¹ Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 185. The inventory is recorded in Boston Probate Office, Suffolk, XIII, 29.

again, both it and the room in the north-east may have been added before Smith's death in 1691; at any rate, it is very difficult to make the inventory fit the house, to which there can be no doubt it refers.

"The cellar is quite interesting. Some of the stones in the walls of it are very large bowlders split in two, with clear division surfaces. The foundation of the chimney, . . . , is extremely large. The original steps to the cellar, under the front stairs, are of stone as in the Grant house, Newport, and in some other houses in Narragansett. This house, the oldest in the South County, shows the influence of Newport in the plainest manner. It is a house of the Connecticut fashion, like most of those now standing in the Aquidneck colony. We shall meet many like it in the Narragansett country, though with none so large nor so fine. Nor have any other houses, so far as we know, the crossed summers which mark this house as one of a class rare in all New England."

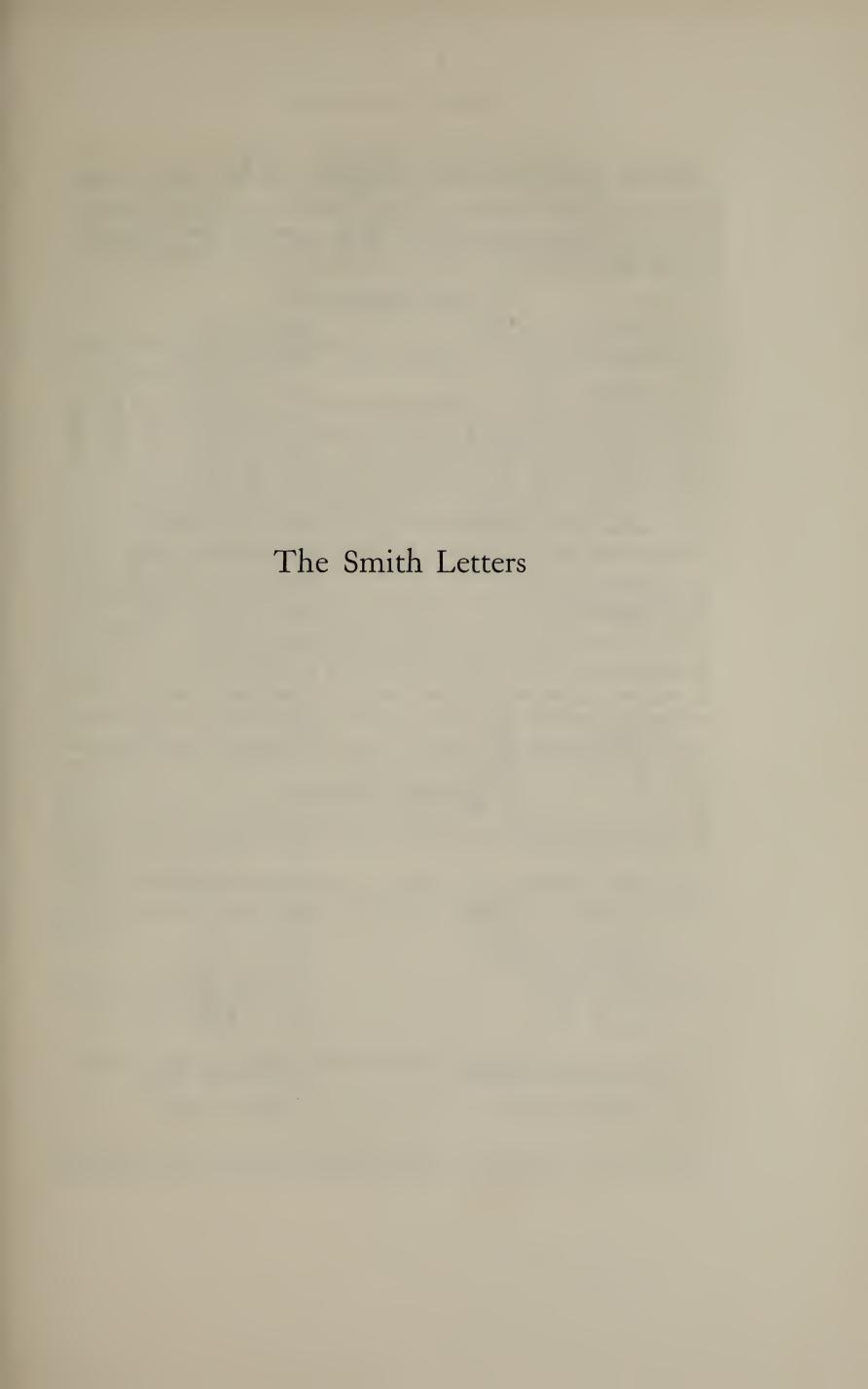
This house, as has been said, descended from Richard Smith, Jr., who was childless, to his nephew Lodowick Updike, who had married his cousin Joan Newton who was also Smith's niece. This marriage brought with it her portion of land, and thus Lodowick Updike (son of Gysbert who married Catharine Smith) became a very considerable landed proprietor. Their son Daniel Updike lived at Smith's Castle only at times, having also a house in Newport. It is to him that the Narragansett house owes its fine staircase, which he built about 1740, and he also remodelled the two principal rooms and at the same time appears2 to have enlarged the house. But Newport visitors were taken to Narragansett—or as the family styled it, the Continent—among them being Dean Berkeley who preached at St. Paul's, Narragansett, and the painter Smibert. This Daniel Updike, for many years Attorney-General of the Colony and the most distinguished member of the family, had two children,

¹ Early Rhode Island Houses: an Historical and Architectural Study, by Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, pp. 61-64.

² See Downing's Early Homes of Rhode Island, pp. 39 and 41, and for a view of the staircase, Plate 60.

Lodowick and Mary. Lodowick married Abigail Gardiner, niece of Mrs. MacSparran, and of Mrs. Rowland Robinson—so that his son Wilkins Updike, author of the History of the Narragansett Church was half-cousin to the beautiful Hannah Robinson. During the life of Lodowick Updike much good company was entertained there—in fact that seems to have been Mr. Updike's chief occupation, for he never engaged in any business, though he was trained for the bar. His sister Mary married Hon. John Cole, chief justice of the Supreme Court in Rhode Island, and survived her husband over thirty years. Meanwhile the family fortunes were considerably impaired by the Revolution, about which the dwellers at Cocumscussuc were neither enthusiastic nor co-operative.

Of Lodowick Updike's ten children, the oldest, Daniel, like his grandfather was Attorney-General of Rhode Island, and born in 1761 under the old order of things, was accustomed to say that "the Revolution spoilt society." Upon his father's death, in 1804, the old house and the land surrounding it passed—not to the oldest son as might have been expected—but to the youngest, Wilkins Updike; for the ancient custom of ultimogeniture was not uncommon in New England. It was one of "life's little ironies" that reverses should snatch the historic old house from the hand of the one member of the family who most prized its traditions. But through misplaced confidence in a brother, the sale of Cocumscussuc was made necessary in 1814; and until his death in 1867, a period of some fifty years, Mr. Updike never could bring himself to speak of, or to see, the place to which he was born heir.



Richard Smith, Jr.'s letters number fifty and there is one letter from Esther Smith to John Winthrop, Jr., dated June 2, 1670. The dates and names of those to whom they were addressed are as follows:

To John Winthrop, Jr.

January 11, 1665/6	May 24, 1673
May 14, 1665	May 26, 1673
August 7, 1665	June 21, 1673
April 17, 1666	June 25, 1673
February 13, 1667/8	July 8, 1673
June 4, 1668	July 23, 1673
December 10, 1668	August 5 (?), 1673
January 26, 1669/70	September 5, 1673
May 2, 1670	December 10, 1673
June 2, 1670	February 12, 1674/5
September 4, 1671	September 21, 1674
April 24, 1672	June 4, 1675
May 3, 1672	August 5, 1675
May 18, 1672	September 3, 1675
July 20, 1672	September 12, 1675
March 8, 1672/3	October 27, 28, 1675

To Fitz-John Winthrop

J	
May 10, 1672	November 3, 1675
July 6, 1672	May 5, 1679
July 26, 1672	January 8, 1681/2
November 21, 1674	April 13, 1682
February 12, 1674/5	May 8, 1682
April 15, 1675	May 12, 1682
May 3, 1675	May 23, 1682
June 7, 1675	July 15, 1684

To Edward Palmes
April 2, 1674

To William Leet
June 18, 1678

The Smith Letters

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

I

For the Hounored John Wintrop Esquyr Gount off Coneticutt this deliver with care

TOUNORED SIR, dewe respets preented by my selufe and kindswoman Ester, with maney thainks for all your loue and care which you haue taken about her. We receued the rubla powder sent, as also the black salue sent last with yor leter dated Noumb 24. My kindswoman hath receued much good by what she hath taken from you. It still remaynes lame and in payne, it runing two and froe sumtimes in her neck and shoulder & arme & hand and sumtimes in her hipe, thys and kne, they being still week. We have hopes that she will in time with the helpe of God and yor good remedys growe well. Her tooe is much amended allredy, she being out of payne; the bathing powder we also receued. I have nothing of Newse to aquaint yor Worshep with, onley Sir Robert Care was here, is nowe at Rode Jsland bound for N: Yorke. Here come a post by with leters from N: Yorke, is goone baick agayne with a returen or answer. Yor worships paicatt you sent is not yt goone but shall be sent towmorow by on that gooeth derect to Boston. My kindswoman had an exstreme payne in here hand rist since yor worship sent the last rubla powder, in so much that she could not sewe nor nett or doe anything at all with her hand: then she tooke a porchine of it acording to yor worships derecion and it made her hand well, remoued the payne that nowe she hath good use of it.

Sir, my dewe respets and seruis to mistrs Wintrop and yor sonns, with my kindswomans also. Hauing not elce at present to trobell you with Remayn

Wickford in Naragansett
11 January 1665.

Yor Humbell feruent RICH: SMITH JUNR

pray convey this inclosed as derected for yr seruent R. S.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Mr Rich: Smith rec: Jan: 20. 1665/6.

II

For the Worshipffull John Wintrope Esqr Gour of Coneticutt dd1

Hownored Sir, my serues presented to you & Mistrs Wintrop & yor sonne. Sir, I make bould to aquaint yor worship with my kindswomans Lamenese, whoe longs to here from you, she being not att all amended. She sayth if yor worship will advise her to come to Coneticutt where she maye be nere you she will come: onley she desyers yor worship to send her sumthing by the first conuenency you can, to make tryall of, in hopes it maye cuere her here by yor worships derections. Sir, she presents her serues to yor selufe & Mistrs Wintrope. I shall make bould to aquaint you we are under the Gouernment of Rode Jsland at present. They hope for continuance, we hope not: its a troubell to all our minds excedingly to be under them, it maks much discontent in pepels minds. What euents will folowe I knowe not. We are nowe plased under a gouerment that cannot gouern themselues. My father presents his seruis to you. Hauing not elce to trobell yor worship withall I rest

Wickford in Naragansett 14 Maye 1665. Yor obleged seruent
RICH SMITH JUNR

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Richard Smith of Wickford.

III

To the Hounored John Wintrop Esqr: Gounor of Coneticutt dd

Wickford in Naragansett 7 Agust 1665.

Hounored Sir, dewe seruis and respets presented to yor selufe, mistre Wintrop, and yor famaley. Sir, having this opertunity I make bould to aquaint you that my kindswoman hath fownd much benifitt in what she hath taken from you. She is much amended and can gooe aboutt a greatt deall beter then she could, but her tooe on the other foote is bade still, as also that foote troubells her, it having a numbnes and the tooe as it was, the botom of the foote is painefull to her. She presents her dewe seruis to you and yours. She bathes her tooe according to yor derecione. We are here att Naragansett much abused by Rode Jlanders and they ware wicked men, they having cutt downe sum mens grase by theyr dores within theyr inclosed grounds, and did intend to putt vs by moving all of vs except we would insnare our selufes to be ingaged to wrighting which theyr Counsell had drawne, which the pepell here refused. We all resolved to stand I The abbreviations dd, ddl, ddle, ddll, ddlr, which occur in these superscriptions, all signify "This to be delivered."

together as on man and to make and poses the have that they had cutt, which we did, meting alltogether resoluing to opose all that shall molest us in our bisnes. We had as good lose our liues as liulywod: besyds we are left under a gouvment that cannot gouverne themselufes. They were licke latly to gooe together by the yeare, which I judge they will ere longe. They are nowe bulding a forte in the wodes 2 miles out of the toune by a swamp syde. There the Gounor and Counsell is to sitt and derect the pepoll what they must doe agaynst the Ducke or other enimys, such as shall buren howses & ships, or remoue have cokes; its so expreste in theyr decloracion, we having before mouved sum have that they had made up on our land. They have also putt forth an Aicte in wrighting that those that will not ingage persnolly and virtualy to asist the Gouvnor & Counsell agaynst such enimys as befor menchned; such desenters shall be outlaweed; theyr estats confisticated, and that any person maye kill them: if found on Rode Jland, Quonanigt, or any small Iland. Instede of conforming to this Aicte the pepoll were much disturbed, refewsing to obeye the Counsels order. I would have sent yor worship a copey of theyr Aict if I had time to a writ it out. My father presents his seruis to you. I remayne

Yor Humbell seruent

Rich. Smith Jn^r.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Richard Smith of Wickford.

IV

For the Hounored John Wintrop Esq^r Gounor of Coneticutt These deliuer att Harfortt dd

Estere allso to you presented & to mistrs Wintrop; I make bowld to trobell you as relating to my Couzens distemper, its still bad, she being still lame in her kne, hipe & thye, & oftentimes it runes up and downe in her arams & showldrs & necke & baicke. Also she is trobled with a tingling in her thyes, but her taking yo^T Rubela powder doth remoue it so that nowe she is indiffent well: butt onley in her knee, thy & hipe & tooe ther it constantly remayns & sumtimes runes in to other parts as aboue exprest. She had an intent to haue come up to you this Spring but the wether being could & the jorney fare & she not abell to ride, it being could to gooe by water, doe make bowld to request forder fauor that you would aduise her by wrighting and sending what may be good for her to take: butt if she neds must come she will first waight to here yo^T aduice whether nedfull or not. She hath receued much good by what she hath had from you & is uery desyrous to be farder obleged to you; & shall be:

willing to satisfey the charge you have bin att, butt yor love and care she will neuer be abell to recompenc. Sir, this barer returen hither sudenly from your parts to us or his father, it being an Indian that lius ner to us, I would request yor worship to send what you thinke may be conuenient by this barer. Here is no newes worth giuing you intimacion of, only Rode Jsland men are uery busey to drawe us into theyr jurisdicion if they could by uerty of theyr Paten right, to which porpos they have granted Comishions and depeweted Conservators of the pees here at Naragansett, in all sixe, and sent on ouer inpowered to ingage them in theyr new ofises. My father being on depewted, mr Porter & mr Renolls these 3, refewsed to take theyr ingagments except they would showe theyr Comishion under the Comishiners hands & seles which did impower Rode Jland so to depeut them, which Rode [I]sland men refused to send a copa of to them; so nothing is done about it. I would have sent you copies of all, but it being aicted but yesterdaye had not time to transcribe it. My seruis to yor sonns, I make bould to craue yor fauor and remayne yor humbell seruent

RICHARD SMITH JUNR.

My father presents his seruis to you.

Wickford in Naragansett 17th Aprell 1666.

My kindswoman Ester hath sent you by this Indian barer a small token, namly two cheses.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Mr Richard Smith. rec: Apr: 29.66.

V

This for the Hounored John Wintrop Esq^r youn^r of Coneticutt dd in Harford

HOUNORED SIR, my seruis predented with my Couzens Ester in lick manor, with many acknowligments of yor loue and favour. I was trobled I could not come sone enoughe outt of Boston when you went last from thenc, to have sene you att my howse. Those things you here left with my Couzen she hath according to yor derections made use of, and I judge under God it saued her life this winter: for she was trobled with a husking coufe and a greatt stopige att her stomok, in so much she was almost spent, and had bin in her grave had it not bin for yor morning Powder, or that you derected her to take in the morning. The first time she tooke of it she found ease, so she tooke it all, seven months together, and it clearly cured her of thatt distmper. She is att times troubled with a greatt paine in her knee, espesaly when she does much sture, and most

twowards night, & seldum or neuer free of sume payne in it. Acording to yor derecion I bought a Cuping glase att Bostone, butt we knowe not howe to use it. Sir, she hath bin uery lame this 3 weeks: its probell she cached cowld; her fisik she hath taken I think all. If you please to acomadate her farder with any thing thatt you think mett we shall be very thinkfull, and thoug we can neuer recompenc yor loue and fauor I hope we shall indeuer whatt we can, if please God. Hounored Sir, the inhabitanc in the Kings Prouence as its caled are in good hopes thatt you will comisratt our condicion att yor next Court, and take us under yor Gouerment, wher of right we doe belong, for nowe we liue uoyd of Gouerment in efectt, hauing our Enimys ouer us, ille abell to setell any good order amongst us when non is amongst theyr selufse. Sir, myne with my kindswoman seruis to miftrs Wintrop & yor Sonne. Nott Elc butt remayne yor obleaged Seruent

RICH SMITH. 1

Wickford 13th Febary 1667/68.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Mr Rich. Smith. rec. Mar. [?] 1667.

VI

for The much Hounored John Wintrop Esq^r Goun^r of his maiestys Colony of Coneticutt ddll

HOUNORED SIR, dewe seruis & respets presented to you and mistrs Wintrop both from my selufe and kindswoman: being so much obleged to you thatt we can neuer be abell to make you requitall for all yor loue and fauor. This is to returen you thainkfullnes for those things you last sent by Capt John Alyne, which my Couzen intends to take acording to yor derecions. She hath bine very lame this spring att times, butt when she takes of yor fisike she is much betered by it. Sir, thatt powder you wright to knowe what it was which did her so much good I cannot beter describe it then to the leafes of dryed rosemarey rubd, for coulor, & it would swime on the beare sume of it. Its all spent, so thatt she hath non left for a sampell. Sir, I hope to see you att my howse when you gooe to Boston. My dewe respsts to yor sonne presented, nott hauing elce att present butt oblegment & humbell acknowlidg for all yor fauor both from my selufe and kindswoman, remayne yor humbell seruent

RICHARD SMITH.

Wickford 4 June 1668.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Mr Richard Smith. rec. June 11. 1668.

¹ This is the first letter not signed "Junr." His father had died in the interval.

R. C. W.

VII

[Richard Smith, Jr. to John Winthrop, Jr.]

Much Hounored Sir, my seruis with my couzen Ester in a spesall maner psented: with many thainks for yor loue and care about her: she hath taken latly of yor pisike and powder sent by Edward Mesenger, she finds it doth her much good. The rubela powder sinc she toke it she is far beter then she was, and it wroght well, & also the other powder left her when you was here she hath taken of it. She had a stopig in her stomok as formarly, butt that powder sent by Edward Mesenger hath done her much good. We did expect you here, butt wer nott so hapy as to see you. I was latly att Boston & Capt Breden and Mr Kellam promised me to gett an order in Eingland concerning the Naragansett Country, thatt we may be under Coneticutt. They are both goon in mr Fayrwether and deseyred me to request you to send a leter to Generall Nickols concerning the bisnes of Naragansett, which they saye will much conduse to furder it. Mr Proutt is it to gooe and Capt Longe. Sir, my seruis to mytrs Wintrop yor sonns & daftrs, I craue yor fauor & remayn yor

obleged & humbell seruent

RICH SMITH.

Wickford 10 Desemb 1668.

VIII

This for the much Hounored John Wintrope esqu^r Goun^r of Coneticott Coloney: this with Care: in Harford: p^rsentt.

by Rich^d Williams

Esters: also to yor selufe, Mistris Wintrop and yor Relacions: with many thainks for all yor former and later Kindnes. Sir, yor leter, with what you sent last, came safe to hand, butt after thatt a rumor with us was that you were ded, which did nott alitell trobuell us, untel we herd the contrary. Acording to yor derecions shee hath taken her phisicke and aplyed bathing and thatt playstar to her ainkell. Her phisik wrott well and her ainkell is much betered by it, sumtims no payn in it att all; also Sarah is much beter since yor Worship gaue her that powder. Yor sonn Capt Waitt I sawe att Boston nere Cristmas, was well & all yor relacions there. Noe newes only by the waye of Uirgenya, which is thatt the Duck of Munmoth is created Princ of Walles & 30 Nonconformis ministers are sent to Scottlon to setell Church afayrs there: I had it in a leter: latly from Captt Hudson. Aboutt one wecke since one indyan with two Squose gott into a mans howse here in Naragansett in the euining, the

man that night not being att home, and drewe and draink so much Rumb outt of his caske that they were so drunke that gooeing homards they laye downe in the cartt waye and were frozen all ded by the morning. Sir, my Couzen Easter hath nott bin so well any winter sinc her Lamenes as she hath bin this winter, praysed be God and thainks to yo^r selufe for it. We were in greatt hopes you would have returned this waye from Boston, butt hope we shall see you in the spring when the Committy sits. Opertunity: did nott present no soner to wright to you to give you thainks for the last sent by you to my Couzon & yo^r greatt loue and fauor can neuer by us be requited, [torn] in which we stand thainkfully obleged, & remayne

Yor Humbell seruent

RICH^d SMITH.

my Couzen hath sent you sume chese by Rich^d Williams as a token of her oblegment, & her humbell seruis with it.

Narugansett 26th januery 1669/70.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith, rec. Mar 10. 1669.

IX

This for the much hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Goun^r of Coneticott Coloney ddl.

JUCH HOUNORED SIR, my seruis to you & to Mistris Wintrop and I your relacions with you. Yor leter I receued with the powdrs for my Couzen Ester, whoe presents her seruis to you also by me, for I towld her I would wright to you. Sir, we are so much obleged to you for all your loue and fauor that we knowe not how to recompene it. Shee hath bine beter this winter then usuly shee hath bin other winters. Shee aplyse still yor powdrs with yor derecions and finds much benifitt by it. This Spring I toke $3\frac{1}{2}$ papres of it att once, it wrought much with me, I found it did me much good. Sir, I thainke you for your informacion to me of what Newes you had by waye of N: Yorke. Here is many pepoll deed at Rode Jsland the later hand of winter and this Springe 30 or 40: Mr John Gard the chife, others those you know not, and uerey sickly still; it takes ym with a payne in hed & stomoke & side, on which followes a feuor & dyes in 3 or 4 days maney. Litell newse as it from Urope as I here, only the Turke hath taken seuerall of our merchants ships in straits; one Mr Clements that went out from Boston they toke, & its noysd as if M^r Robertt Gibes is taken by them, he went outt of Uirginia to gooe to Tangere. Its also reported that the French Kinge hath bought Flanders of the king of Spayne for thre milions & intends a ware one Holond. Captt Peerse is expected with others sudenly, by whom we shall here more certaynely.

Many uesalls are latly ariued from Barbados into Boston & one to Rode Jsland. Its sickly in Boston, many ded, Mr Gilam, Mr Peater Olyvor, & since m^r Houchin is ded. Sir, I have an intent for Eingland sudenly, I hope to gooe in June next. I should be glad if I might be capable to doe you any seruis when I come there, and shall indeuer it to the utmost of my abylaty if you please to comand me in any. I intend to returen next yeere if God please to give me life and helth. My Couzen Ester I shall leue att Naragansett; were it not that shee hath found so much helpe and fauor from you I knowe I could not perswade her to staye, for shee acounts her life is preserued by what you send her, with Gods blesing to it. Sir, I could gladly wish that sume setelment would be about Naragansett Cuntry & that yor Colony would take us into yor Gouerment, if you see cause. I should be usry redy if [torn] were, to give the best information aboutt it in Eingland I could, if your Worship would butt wright to Colonoll Nickols by me and sume others you are intrested with. I shall doe the utmost I can to perform in what you deseyr. Sir, nott elce butt the tender of my humbell seruis & remayne yors to be comanded

RICH^d SMITH.

N: London this second daye of maye 1670.

I hope your next Courtt will give us hopes of a certayn setellment of Naragansett.

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith, rec. May 18, 1670.

Esther Smith to John Winthrop, Jr 1

X

This for the much Honoured John Wintrop Esqr Gour of Conticutt.

HOUNORED SIR, humbell seruis presented. I make bowld to present you herwithall with a pr of socks, stiripe hose and stokings and shooes. They are butt mene, I could wish they were beter. Be plefed to except of them from shee that is neuer abell to recompenc yor greatt loue and fauor to me. My seruis to Mistrs Wintrop and all yor Relacions. Sir, I ame yor

humbell seruant
ESTER SMITH.

Nara. 2d June 1670.

Also a Small token for yor Hounored wife.

This letter is on the same sheet as the succeeding one and in the same handwriting.

R. C. W.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XI

Sir, I wright to you from N: London, and nowe I am gooeing awaye soner then I expected. If I could serue you in any thing yor comand shal oblege me to doe it. I intend to be here next yeare. If you had leters redy I should be glad to cary them, or if by the next ships you send for me to doe any seruis for you, derect yor letrs to mr James Smith grosor in Fann Church strett London; butt if to Bristoll, to mr Walte Sterns att gouldon loke in High strett draper. My Couzen I shall leue att Naragansett and I hope, Sir, you will still be asistant to her in what may doe her good. My humbell seruis presented to all yor nere relacions. I am yor euer obleged and humbell seruent (in greatt hast this is wright)

RICH^d SMITH.

2th June 70.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec. Nov. 15, 1670.

XII

For the Much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Goun^r of Coneticutt Colony p^r sent with Care.

Narragansett this 4th of Septemb 1671.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, my humbell seruis presented, in hops also that Mistrs Wintrop with your other relacions is in good helth, to home my seruis presented also. Sir, I humbly thaink you for yor kind leter to me of 29 Agust last, & ame sorey I have nott had the opertunity to see your Worship, butt must craue yor exceuse in being so remisee as not all this time since my ariuall as nott wrighting to you. My ocacions hath bin much to fitt out our ship for Barbados, which nowe is redy within 3 or 4 days. Seuerall Gentellmen in Eingland of nobell Qualaty did inquyer for you, outt of the Respt they owe you and have hard of you. I had much discourse with my Lord Anthony Ashly Copers Hounor concerning New Eingland and all the afayrs therof, which I did newly giue him an aco of & of the discent betwene Coneticott & Rode Jsland. He wished your selufe there. The king and Counsall had the hering of it and they intended to comishionatte gentellmen of this Country of each Colony to be a standing Comishion to end all such discent. I would also, if your Worship haue inclynacon so to doe, be your chepman for Fishers Island, & paye mony in Einglad for it if you see cause. When I see you shall more att large giue you an aco of all concerns I knowe of.

If any of Coneticott Gentellmen be with you my seruis to y^m or when you see them. Sir, I give you many thainks for yo^r kindnes to my Couzen in my abstance; thatt bathing powder did her much good and for a good continyanc of time it made her lame lige with outt ache or payne. Shee presents her humbell seruis to yo^r Worship, Mistrs Wintrop and all you^r relacions. Shee bathed he lige with yo^r powder and untell Aprell from January shee had no payne, butt since Aprell she is sumtimes troubled agaynst chayng of wether. Shee receued thatt by the indyan send by M^r Portor & twise before last winter, for which shee and my selufe doe humbely thaink you. Sir, nott elce butt my respects to Capt Waitt with you and yo^r obleged

& Humbell seruent
RICH^d SMITH.

Richard Smith, Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XIII

for Captt John Wintrop Esqu^r att New London these present.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, Captt wintrop, my kind respets saleutt you with returns of thainks for you^r kindnes when with you. We cannott gett you^r botte done presently, but will indeuer to the utmost to acomplish you^r deseyr therein. Here is no newes, only Rode Jsland Generall Asemly haue made many strainge kind of Aicts, or Lawes as they call them, and quitt contrary to reason. I doute I shall hardly come to Coneticott, my ocasions are so urgentt & you^r Courtt so neare. Sir, my seruis to all you^r relacions & ame

Yor obleged frend & humbell seruent

Wickford 24th Aprell 1672.

RICHD SMITH.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XIV

For the much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Gou^r of Coneticott Coloney in Harford.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, my seruis presented in most humbell manar to you & Mistris Wintrope & the rest of you^r, with many acknowligments for you^r greatt loue. Sir, I receud two leters from you & those things sent my Couzen she receued. Here is no newes, only a cleare chainge of Elecion, m^r Brenton being chouzen Gou^r. Theme formarly in plasce intended to have made theyr aplycacion to Eingland by sending M^r

John Clarke theyr Agentt, butt they are nowe outt of plasce and its nowe the deseyr and indeuors of most here to compley with your Coleney in a louing & peasabell manor, and having nott so much time as so dewley to consider of whatt to propose in order to a frendly comployence from hence, they have by a leter sent deseyered your Coloney would forebare the prosacusion of aney thing agaynst Squomacott men. Sir, I ame very confident thatt your Worship will see thatt nowe they will from henceforth nott pretend aney thinge for delaye, butt performen all things pretended. Had it nott bin thatt of my owne knowlidg peace is nowe deseyered by them here, I would not have concerned my selufe with them in that ofise and plase I am nowe in amongst them. Itt maye seme strainge to sume of my frends, butt that which did indewse me to axcept it was my thoughts of furdring a complyanc betwixt both Coloneys, which nowe honistly will be indeuored by these here, without quibles or delayes. I hope you will farther it and cause a small stope, thatt noe suden mocion be agaynst those men of Squomocott untell you here from hence.

Sir, I had thoughts to have waighted upon you & the rest of the hounored gentellmen with you, butt my ocasions are so urgent att present I cannot. My humbell seruis to them all, and you^r worships most obleged

& humbll seruent.

RICHD SMITH.

Neuportt this 3^d of maye 1672.

M^r Bryndly & my selufe I sopose shall uisett you in order to a comployenc shortly from hence. I expectt William Coundy in here aboutt the later end of this month & from hence for Eingland.

Richard Smith, Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XV

For Captt John Wintrop Esq* att New London dd

LAPTT WINTROP, my kind respets saleutt you Sir. I had sent you^r man by Edward Stalling, butt he went awaye betimes in the morning ere I had notis of it. You^r man hath a greatt deseyr to staye att Rode Island, & sayth sume there be will laye downe so much as you are outt one him. Praye send me you^r mind aboutt him & I will see it done, you^r muney scequered, or send him to you. I have allso proquered thatt gune for you, Cost £3 money; its a good one, had much adoe to gett him. One Robertt Haserd hath promised to doe you^r botte, which cane doe her as well as any man. I judge we will gett her well done or elce nott at all, and if nott, will send her home as sone as maye be. Sir, my humbell serues to the

Gou^r & all: you^r relacions. I promised you^r man to wright to you to knowe you^r mind aboutt him. Thatt lads mother is nott willing to lett him come. Nott else butt my reall respets, with many thainks for the kindnes recd when with you, ame yo^r obleged frend & seruent

[torn]er Smith presents her [torn]uis to you

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 10 Maye 1672.

Mr Frances Bryndly presents his louinge respects to you.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XVI

For the much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Gou^r of Coneticott att Harford p^rsent.

Bull, is sent up to Harford one purpos with a leter, and so that he maye giue you, with the rest of the gentell with you, uerbaly the knowlidge of the certayne intenshions of this Courtt as in refaranc to a fayr comployanc with you^r Coloney, which is theyr intents here of these nowe in plasce. This barer can giue you relacion att large aboutt it, as also render the cause of formar non complyanc. Sir, I question nott butt you^r Worship will be instrumentall to further it whatt you can. I should be glad if you^r gentell men could come downe to Naragansett & treatt there; itt would much satisfey sume speritts here, butt as you see cause for thatt. My humbell seruis to Mistris Wintrop, the Captt you^r sonn & you^r dafters, with maney returns of the thainkfulnes for all you^r loue & fauor ame

Newport 18th daye Maye 1672.

RICHD SMITH.

your humbell seruent

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith. rec. May 24. 1672.

Richard Smith, Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XVII

for his hounored frend Captt John Wintrop Esq^r att Newe London ddll.

CAPTT WINTROP, My kind respets to you Sir. I receued your lete by Edward Staling. I knowe of none here will buye your taylor thatt can make good paye for him att present. It will be much if he runes not awaye

from you agayne, for I have herd sinc he went he tretned it. The gune £3 must be pd for her money to Samuell Eldride Jun^r when he returns from Newfoundland. You^r boate we cannott it gett done, I would shee was with you, for I am afrayd if they open her botom she will be spoyled and not be so good as nowe shee is, for its a difacull pease of worke. I ame sorey ocacions hindred me I could not waight upon you when at my howse. You^r leter & that left with Eldrid receued. You^r loues & paynes in coming so fare I ame thainkful to you all, butt can nott ofisciatt; being ingaged to another Coloney this yeare must deseyer you^r excewes, not butt that I ame and shall be redy to serue you^r Coloney in aney thing that I can to my power. Sir, here is noe newes att present. My humbell seruis to yo^r Hounred father & Mistrs Wintrop, you^r seluf and all relacions,—ame you^r obleged frend & seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Nar:ragansett 6th July 1672.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XVIII

For the much Hounored John Wintrope Esqu^r Gouno^r of Conecticott Coloney, this with care ddlr att Harford.

Much houndred Sir, My seruis presented to you & Mistres Wintrop and al you^r. My Couz Ester presents hers in licke manar, who is beter then euer shee was since she was first lame. There was a treaty att New London by Coneticott & Rode Island. I did intend to be there, butt was att Boston and had no notis of it untell it was ouer. Sir, I should be glad a fayer and peasable agrement were. I judge Rode Island men will once more propose to putt it to referenc to persons nott intrested in lands here. Theyr Generall Asembly sitts the last of this instant month. I shall indever to promt them to such a proposall, which I hope you will exceptt. I sopose they will pitch one sume gentellmen of Newe Yorke if aney. Your Gentellmen when downe att my house left a paper with M^r Eldrid wich did inuest me Magisstraticall power to aictt in Naragansett Country with Captt Hutchinson & Capt Hudson; the wrighting I deliurd to Capt Hudson. Sir, I cannot aictt att present as under Coneticott, because this yeare ame obleged for Rode Island in publicke plase alredy. I have, shall & will be redy to serue your Coloney in aney thing I can, butt at present must baige your fauor & excewse, nott that I ame disafected to your intrest, butt because I ame injaged in publique for this yeare alredy; & had it nott bine to have stoptt sending an Agent, which they had desyred, & other things sett one footte by Mr Arnold and adherent, as also to be instrumentall for the release of Mr William Haris, I would not have excepted of aney plase with them, only as it was nesesatey requyred it.

Sir, here is no newes att present, only rumorowes as if there ware a trewse betwene Holond & Eingland for 3 months, & the owld newes of Tafalett being dedd, & that hopes of pease with Saley & the redemcion of the slaues there. Sir, not elce butt crauing you^r excewse, with my respets and seruis to the honnored gentellmen with you, ame you^r obleged & humbell seruent

RICH^d SMITH.

Narragansett 20th July 1672.

Indorsed: Mr R. Smith. rec. July: 1672.

Richard Smith, Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XIX

For his Hounored frend Captt John Wintrop Esqu^r att New London ddl.

TOUNORED SIR CAPTT WINTROP respts & seruis presented. Your of L the 20th instant I receued and one derected to John Hixe which I haue conueyed to him. Sir, you intimatte thatt your boate hath bin a comon hackny to all our drugrey and thatt nowe nether fitt to be returned nor altred. Its trewe shee hath bin two or 3 tims ouer here att my howse, butt no where elce, nether did shee Carey any fraight in her exceptt 2 or 3 men & women, and my selufe. Thomas Forster did carey also sume things a bord the barque with her, butt no ways hath shee bin used to her pregidish, butt is as shee was when you sawe her. Sir, had you bine here your selufe you could not haue got her done. We haue done what in us lyes, nether was it for want of efects of your in our hands that she is nott done. Had it bin of fare greater valewe your comands if posiball should have bin abayed. If shee can be gott done with spede shee shall, otherwayes if nott she shall be spedley returned by our Slope Petter Treby master, whoe shall putt in one purpas to bring her, & for the gune of Same Eldrid be plesed to returne her & nothing shall be dewe for her, for I judge he will be glad to haue her agayne, for J had much adoe to gett him willing to spare her. Whattever reports hath bin, I can butt returne thainkes to you, or rather such an answare as may beter consist of thoughts then words. Sir, I craue your pardon and bige of you to injage me once more that I maye use my indeuors to contrubitt sumewhatt to your content, for it is the chifest aspiring hopes of, Sir, your uery faithfull seruent RICHD SMITH. Wickford 26th juley 1672.

My Couz Ester presents her seruis & thainks you for you^r Kind remembranc of her. R. S.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XX

For the much Hounored John Wintrope Esq Goun of Coneticot Coloney dd this in Harford.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, My kind respects presented, with hopes of your recoury and helth; ame hartaly sorey for the lost of Mistris Wintrop; my respets to all yor relacions. Your son Captt Waitt informed us as he went to Boston thatt you were recoured, which was joyfull newes to us. My wiufe deseyred me to present her seruis to: you, with many thaings for all your loue. She hath herewith sent you a small token, namly sixe cheses and one small caske of shuger. She is manye times trubled with paine in her kne, butt is far beter then formarly she was. We have noe newes latly I supose butt what you have hard, onley att Rhod Island a sade aixedent latly hapned. Ould Mistrs Cornall who lived with her sone wase found burned to death nerly to a cole. Butt litell feyer being in the rome and she not neare it wher shee laye ded, seuerall pepoll being in the next rome, only a perticion of bords betweene, nott hard her cry, nor smelt her wolone cloths tho burned to a cole, hauing no coten cloths aboutt her, an inquest pased on her who returned a uerditt thett shee was burned to deth by fyer, so shee was buryed. In a shortt time aftwards an aperriscion apeared to one mr Briges who was a frend of this Mistris Cornall. As he laye in his bed she heued up the cloths and awacked him, she standing by his bed side: he asked her in the name of God who she was, she replyed she was his sister Cornell, soe sd she howe I am burned with fyer, and a glimering light apeared in the rome, wher he afermeth on his injagment he perfectly sawe her deformed with the feyer, to his greatt astonishment. One deuilging of which and the obsceruanc sume had of the unkindnes used by her sonns behauer twowards his mother when liuing and after she laye ded, she was by the athoroty taken up agayne and serched by the curirgions with a juroy also of 24 men, who found a wound thatt went in neare her hartt. Shee being riped open found cloted bloud a greatt deall, the hole suposed to be made with sume instramen licke, or the iron spyndell of a spining whelle. One which Tho. Cornall was aprehended, being her sonn, who denyse it; he is comited to prison to be scequred untell Maye Courtt. If he be gilty its an excrabell murder; he confeseth he was the last man was in her company and not aboue 3/4 of an ower before she was found ded. Sir, my respets and seruis to all the gentellmen with you, remayne your humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Fishers Island 8th daye March 1672/3.

Mr Frances Brindly presents his respets & seruis to you

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith. rec. May 1673.

XXI

For the much hounored John Wintrope esqu^r Gou^rno of Coneticott Coloney ddl in Harford.

TUCH HOUNORED SIR, my dewe & humbell seruis presented to your selufe and your with you, and cannott butt simpathy with you relating to your great Lost. My lost is lickly to be also considerabell, my wiufe being at this time very sicke & wecke hauing a continuall payne in her bowles & all aboutt her, her stomoke gone, and littell rest & uery faint. Itt toke her aboutt sixe wecks agooe with a payne all round her midell. One Doctor Greneland gaue her sumthing which did sume what medigatt the payne for a while, but nowe shee is in extrematy with it daye & night, no partt of her body fre from payne, in so much that I doutt shee will not continue longe exceptt amendment. Suden chainges being insodent to mankind, I deseyr the Lord to fitt me for the licke. Sir, shee presents her seruis to you & to your dauftrs with you. I shall be glad to see you att Wickford when God shall strainthen you to trauall for Boston. I hope you will come this waye. Here is litell newes with us; its soposed thatt his Maiesty hath apoynted sume Comishionated to come for N. E., I understand, except more then ordnary preuents. If they come I hope it may putt a finall end to all such dissenc as now are depending. Here ariued a kaitch 4 days since att Newportt from Barbados; shee was chased 48 ours by a shipe about 100 leges from hence. Its judged sume sculking men of ware may anoye this cost. Thomas Cornell is conuicted & condemned for murdring his mother, as also an indyan for comiting a uillonowes rape one Richard Bulgers wiuf, sister to Captt Underell, which was the cause of her death. These two are to be exacuted tomorowe att Newportt. Sir, I understand by a leter come to my hand just nowe from Mr Willis thatt your General Asemly hath depeuted me to serue in sume offise here this yeare. I would serue your Coloney in aney thing I could, butt this yeare must beige your & theyr exceuse, having denied to serue att Rhod Island tho extreneley urged therto, besyds my bisnas being such amongst them att present that it will be much to my pregadish. I hope to doe more service not being concerned with publicke offis. I have wright to M^{r} [torn] to aquaint my hounered frends the gentellmen of Coneticott with my indisposcion att present & have rendred sume grounds, which are reall. I ame much obleged to them & shall be as redy to serue them, onley this time craue humbly theyr exceuse, and shall request that

fauor of you as to exceuse me to them, & that they will not take it amise, for if I serue in aney publick plasce agayne they shall comand it soner then aney. Sir, I haue not elce to ade butt my humbell seruis to your hounored selufe and the rest of the hounored gentell men with you. Remayne your most obleged & humbell seruent

Wickford in Naragansett this 24th daye of maye 1673.

RICHD SMITH.

My respets & seruis to Captt Silvster his wiufe & famaly. RS.

XXII

for the much hounored John Wintrop Esquyer Gou^r of Coneticott in Harford

By Boulbackim jndyan

MUCH HOUNORED & RESPETED SIR, my humbell seruis presented with my winfs also Sir I have a service in the service of the servic **V** with my wiufs also. Sir, I haue sent this jndyan to you to gett sumething of you for my wiufe, she being exceding ile and wecke, being taken this day seven weckes with a greatt payne toke her in her hipes & her thyes & with a sorenes all round her as if it had bin a mighty sweling. The next daye itt came into her bowells with a raicking payne as if her bowells had bin rotten, as if her bowles would drape from her. She being thus 12 dayes and all most ded, I goott Doctor Grindland to come ouer to her, whoe gaue her two glisters & sum cordiall which did medigat the payne, with a drye glister blowne up of tobaico which did cause wind to expell; this did ease for a whille, butt nowe shee hath had the licke payne this sixten dayes and uery restles, cannott slepe and her stomoke gone. Sir, shee hauing had such experienc of your loue to her is nott willing to take aney thing more of M^r Grindland; therfor have sent this barer up to you deseyring you to send her what you thinke may doe her good, you having alredy bin under God the preservacion of her liufe. Her stole would have sent, butt its to remote, sumtimes its highe coulored & thicke setlings in it, & sumtims cleare & palle coulored. She toke of your phisicke aboutt a wecke before shee was taken sicke, which did worke well, butt nowe is so wecke shee cannot take aney, or dare not except your aduise. Praye dispach the judyan baicke with all spede. Sir, I have nothing of newes butt thatt my Lord Willsby is ded & most of the ships taken that went from Boston for Eingland last winter. Sir, my seruis to your daufters with yow, remayne your much obleged and

humbell Seruent RICH^d SMITH.

Wickford Monday this 26th daye of maye 1673. I have wright to you latley by Stonington.

Indorsed: Mr Rich. Smith. rec. May 28: in the morning.

XXIII

for the much hounored John Wintrop Esq^r Gou^r of Coneticott Coloney in Harford.

MUCH HOUNERED SIR, my seruic presented: yesterday I sent an jndyan to you requesting sumthing for my wiufe, butt had forgott to deseyr you to send sume of thatt pouder tyed up in the broune paper, to be taken att midnight or when paines taks her. It was sent first, shee perceues it doth her much good, deseyrs you to send her sume by the first. Seuerall ships ariued att Boston frō Irland, two from France & Iarsey, & Billboe seuerall. The newse all wares & greatt preperacion for it.

Sir, I have spoken with Ninicroft yesterdaye, informed him that your Gouerment toke it ille of him to kepe a murderar thatt bracke joyle, and he refewseth still to deliuer him up, nether will he, butt strius to exceuys him. Not elce butt my humbell seruis with humbll acknowlidgment for

your greatt loue & fauor, remayne yor ever obleged seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 21th, june 1673.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec: June 26: 1673.

XXIV

[Richard Smith, Jr. to John Winthrop, Jr.]

You and yours. I make bould to aquaint you thatt the things sent by the Indyan came saufe, and sume since, & acording to your derecions shee toke the pills which did nott oparate enouge to cause a stolle, butt twowards the euinge toke a glister, then it caused seuerall stolles. The next pills did the licke with the helpe of a glister, and the two last times shee toke pills it did operatt with out a glister. Shee hath taken all the pills, and acording as derected doe take the Cordiall poudrs as derected for the daye time, as also thatt powder for night times, tyed up for distincion in the broune paper, which shee finds greatt helpe and easce by. In extrematy of payne it causeth ease & rest, itt shee still remaynes wecke, ille and faint, and butt litell or no stomocke. In the euing shee is troubled with a payne in her beley, baicke, hipes and thyes, which runes two and fro all night, so that she cannott rest; butt in extrematy of payne and twowards daye itt

abates sumewhat, butt shee is ille euery daye also, butt nott halufe so bad as att night. Her body inclynes to costiuenes, itt shee hath bin sume whatt freer of payne this two or 3 last nights then euer since she was sick before, which is aboutt 3 months. Shee is nowe taken with a tingling numbnes in her hips and thyes, a dednes in them, and payne thatt she can hardly lye in her bed. She drinks a prety deall of saicke to suportt her when redy to faint with extrematy of payne. Sir, I humbly thainke you for your greatt loue in sending whatt alredy receued & doe make bould to aquaint you with her condicion nowe, requesting your farther fauor to send her whatt elce you judge mette, shee being ferefull if she should recouer this fitt of ilnes that she shall lose the use of her limes. Sir, your louing mocion as concerning m^r Blaickelech to execues amongst us I humbly thaink you for your care of us. Mr Williams doeth exaceys amongst us and sayth he will contuny itt; he precheth well and abell, and much pepell comes to here him to theyr good satisfaicion. I have also inportuned Ninicroft 3 dayes sinc to deliver up the indyan acused by the Pequots for murder, which he refeuseth to doe; being of an obistynatt tember if he were humbled a litell it would doe him much good. As to newes, here is litell, onley sume ships ariued att Boston, 2 from Irland, 2 from Bilbo, 2 from Jerrsey, Zaicray Longe from Franc, one from Calas. The newes is all wares and greatt preperacon for it. This barer Judyan I sent aboutt 6 dayes agooe, who returned for fere of the Wampequags, & haue gott him nowe to aduenture to fech what your plesewer is to send. Must beige your excuse for my bouldnes & ocasioning you so much troubell, and ever remayne your obleged & humbl seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 25 june 1673.

My seruis prsented to the hounored gentell with you.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec: July 11.

XXV

[Richard Smith, Jr. to John Winthrop, Jr.]

Much Hounored Sir, your leter with the things by this barer dated july the ist came saufe to hand, for which I humbly thainke you and shall aploye as derected what you send, butt before the jndyans returne. My wiufe was taken the last Lords daye was seuen nights with a greatt payne in her shouldrs & armes & hands, and contunys in such extrematy thatt they are as itt were mortifyed & deed with payne, not numbred payne. Her right armen & hand is the worst, and the other decayes and

weckens apasce, and with such extrematy of payne shee is in, that shee is sensless with it in the fitt for a while. Shee was uery urgent that this Indyan might nowe be sent to aquaint you with it, shee sayth formerly when shee had payne shee used to take of your Rubila purging powder, which did cause the payne to seasce, but knowe not whether her weckenes will bare for to take of it nowe or nott. Shee is very wecke, requests your advisce whatt to doe or whatt elce you judge may give her easce as to her payns, which I judge to be the goutt, and thatt a hott extreme goutt. Shee hath noe stolles butt when shee takes glisters, and: the glistrs operate well and causeth her body to be in solabell temper; it easeth nott her payne, her bely is beter, not so much payne, butt all her body elce in tormenting payne, butt espesaly her arme, shoulders & hands. Sir, her humbell seruis prsented to you, and your dauftrs, shee would be glad shee sayth to see you once more, deseyrs if you gooe for Boston to come this waye. Sir, here is nothing as it of newes come to my hand. My wiufs ilnes hath taken me of from inquyring. I must humbly bige your pardon for my bouldnes in preseuming to send to you so fast. I knowe it causeth you troubell, the Lord requitt you for all your loue & fauor which I can neuer forgett, butt with my humbell seruis to you & your remayne

Yor ever obleged seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford Tewsday: 8th july 1673.

Shee hath her uayns of hands & arms sweled much & looks blaick with the blod in y^m.

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith. rec. July 12 by Nanapos an Indian.

XXVI

for the muche Hounored John Wintrope Esq^{*} Gou^{*}no of Coneticott Colony in Harford

By Wonaequomuchquen Indian.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, my humbell seruis presented with my wiufs also. Sir, all you^r things sent, as also thatt you sent by waye of Newe London, receued. We have made use of partt, twise she hath taken of the rubala powder which did worke: butt nott downwards; butt by glistors shee kepes her body solabell. The greatest payne shee nowe hath is in her arems, and most in her right arme which she cannot stire or moue. I judge the payne is setled in that; shee hath oynted it with you^r oyntmnt

and hath bathed it, butt finds no amendment of it, and also aployes playstrs of that salufe you sent. I hope shee will amend. This indyan I mett with axidentally, gooeing up aboutt his owne bisnes to Coneticott, by whome I make bould to give you an aco: of my wiufe, as also to returne you humbll thainks for your greatt loue and care in sending her those things, by which I hope shee will recouer. Sir, Captt Atherton deseyred me to conueye this inclosed to you: to my knowlidge he hath bin uery much abused by Timothy Marther his brotherlawe, who striufs to gett Administracion notwithstanding his brother in nowe here, hee being the eldist sonn of Major Atherton and ayer att lawe, to home I hope your Courtt will give administracion, and not to one that is noe wayse alved butt by marige. I promised him to wright to you aboutt it; he showed me his leter nowe sent and what he alegeth which I knowe to be trewe. He intends up to Wickford shortly aboutt it. Sir, lett me request you to doe him all the just fauor you can, for I knowe his brother Marther would doe him wronge. Here is nothing of newes. My seruis to the houndred gentellmen with you.

Remayne your ever obleged seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 23d july 1673.

The first time my wife toke of you^r Rubla it toke away sum of her payn but giue her [torn] arme by sume rinch, so that it remayns ille.

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith. rec. Aug: 4.

XXVII

For the Much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Gou^{rno} of his Maiestys Colony off Coneticott This in Harford with Care.

Much Hounored Sir, my seruis presented with my wiufs in humbell manor. Yours of the 2d instant came nowe to hand, with letrs for Boston, Plymouth & Rhod Jsland [blotted] which have posted to them. Ame sorey for the advantage nowe the Duche have, taking Yorke, an inlett for to anoye this whole Cuntry, having nowe a plasee of stranth to shelter in. My wive is much betred by those mdnes you sent her. Shee is lame in one arme most and full of payne, butt the swelling is abated by menes of aploying that salufe one a playster you sent her which shee spreds and keps a playstar to it. Shee hath taken of your fisicke also severall times. Shee is much betred, tho wecke as ytt and full of payne, in her right aram espesaly having a kind of a numbed couldnes in her thyes & hips & body. Her bely payne is gone. Those Cordyall poudrs formaly and nowe sent

did her much good, in easing her payne, for all which I humbly giue you thainks. Sir, I had leters from the Master of my uesall, dated Iune 12th Newfoundland, and who informes me yt only one shipe from England ther this yeare. A Plymouth man who was taken 3 times by the Duch [illegible] reports that our Nacion lost 1000 sayle of ships last yeare. Greatt prepracions by the 3 contesting Nacions. Yesterday I receud a leter from Boston which informed me of this Duch flette being in Uirginia, had taken six sayle ships & burent 6 sayle more there and blocked up the rest; also it informed me that fluety two sayle of our Kings frigets foutt with the Duch, butt was ouer powered by number but retreated hounorabell. Butt one French ship in Newfoundland this yeare, a strictt imbarguo. Sir, haue sent you this paper of my Lord Ashly spech, for which I thainke you. Shall only add my cordiall respets & seruis to the Hounored gentelmen with you and to your daufters, remayne your humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 5th Inst 1673.

Sir, exceuse these blochis: having no time to amend it, the mesenger being in hast.

Indorsed: Mr R: Smith. rec: Aug: 22.

XXVIII

for the Much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Gou^{ro} of his Maistyes Coloney of Coneticott This Humbly p^rsent in Harford.

By Captt Jonnathan Atharton.

MUCH HOUNORED SIR, my seruis with my wiufs to you & to your sones & daufters. Sir, your of 27th Agost & one of 1st instant came last night with the things sent, as also the postscript in it, for all which I humbly theinke you. Your fauor being so greatt I knowe not howe to recompene it. I wright to you by Capt Atharton, whoe went not so sone as I thought, therfore doe make bould also to troubell you with this, for sinc my last my wiufe is much beter then when I writ that, for then I expected every night when shee would dye. We shall followe you derections in what you nowe sent, as formorly. The salufe which did ease her of the payne in her armes was annother sortt of salue & not that you nowe sent; thatt was yelowish. Your sonn Capt Waight sawe it. Sir, here is no newes only a kaitch ariued att Boston from Irland brings newes of a greatt fight betwene Eingland & Holond. The intiligence is uarious, as it sume

reports one syde & sume the other syde had the daye. I haue good grownes to beleue thatt in casce a spedye course be not taken to outt the Duch of Yorke, they will annother yeare comand this whole Cuntry N: Englad. Whether aney paickett be sent to his Maisty from Boston I knowe not; had we butt two 3^d or 4th rate frigotts might easely retacke Yorke with butt 500 men by land. Our libertyes & estates will lye in dainger if not spedaly preuented. I understand Captt Syluester hath submited himseluf to Yorke, the Duch. I wonder att him, onley he is a Duchman in his hartt I judge, or elce would not haue dared to haue done it. Its not his pretending he did it to preuent daingar will exceuse him when time shall serue, besyds he nowe lyes open to be pilliged by the Einglish, as being nowe an enimey to our King & Cuntry. Sir, haue nott elce, butt shall tomorowe deliuer M^r Codington his leter. Crauing pardon, remayne yor humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 5th Septemb 1673.

Indorsed: Mr R: Smith. rec: Sept: 12.

XXIX

For the much Hounored John Wintrop Esqure Goun of Coneticott Coloney This Humbly present in Harford.

MUCH HOUNORED, my: humbell seruis with my wiufs in licke manar to you^r selufe & you^r relacions with you. Captt Palmes being nowe here, could not omitt: to render you humbell acknowlidgmentt: for all you^r loue & fauour extended in her extreme ilnes, which nowe is much a bated, & shee mends and gaynes a litell strainth in her armes, altho usles as to doe aney thing att present. Her stomoke is prety good & takes rest, so thatt I hope shee maye recouer. Here is nothing of newes butt what Captt Palmes can best informin you, he coming from Boston. The greatest consideracion most have is what the euent of the lost of Yorke maye proue, & since the necklectt of time in not regayning of it they strainthing them selufs thereby. My seruis to the Hounored Gentel^m with you & remayne you^r humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 10th of Desemb 1673

Our indyans hath done us dameg: by stelte hath nowe & then killed us sume catell, butt we are not att present capabell to right our selufs on them, butt hope with Coneticott asistanc in time shall.

XXX

For the much Hounored John Winthrop Esqu^r Gour^r of his Majestys Colloney of Coneticott this humbly p^r sent att Harford.

Much Hounored, My seruic to you and your daufters, with my winds also. Shee is much amended of what formerly, having use nowe of her hands, altho butt weacke. She useth your oyntment one her armes, & your blaicke salufe shee constantly aployrs to the baickes of her hands one playstars. She cannot well clinch her hands nor bowe them downewards from the wrist when clinched, which makes me thinke sume senewes maye be shrunken it. Its wonderfully reuiued as to what it was. Shee hath a numbnedse in her thyes still, butt not constant, agaynst fowell wether or when she katches a litell could. She aployes your derecions & bathes her thys with once a daye. Shee is latly troubled with much payne in her bones nights times, having nowe not anney phisick this winter, butt intends to take some shortly. The payne lyes in her baick, shoulder and necke nights times. Most the things sent by mr Gorbon indyan twise we receued, for which we humbly give you thainks. The 17th daye of jenuarey last I wase taken with a greate payne in my belowe, towards my right syde, which: I toke to be wind or the wind colicke. Thatt night it setled in my right syde with extreme payne as posoball could be. I aployed fryed salte hott, one baige after annother, which gaue mee sume easce att present but did not att all remoue the payne: nor doe aney good. Att last used glisters, did me no good, onley att present eased payne. The distemper made me uerey sicke, my urain was thicke and so disterbed thatt I neuer sawe such setlings in aney in my liufe, and highe coulored. Two days after I was taken iell I toke one porscion of your Rubila, I being then so sike and wecke I could not contayne it within me butt a uerey litell spasce, butt vometed it up. Still my illnes contunyed extreme. One daye after I toke of your phiseke agayne, it being one Thursday, which presently toke the payne out of my hed and wrott uerey well; eased the payne in my syde. The next daye after my syde was bad agayne & uerey iell I was; one daye after which I toke of your phisike agayne which wroght kindly, mostly downwards, gaue me easce, I having constantly nede to make water butt could doe butt litell att a time, it all the time the phisike was working I was fre of payne. Att last within night when my phisike had almost done working I made water, a good quantaty att once came freley from me and with it sume smalle stones and grauell, sune of the bigest I have inclosed sent, and my water as if mixt with bloude, from which time I was free of payne and neuer troubled since: so that I doe now conclewd it was the stone in kidneys or raynes or boath, I having formerly bin troubled with such a payne two or thre times two or thre years since, which aployeing then hott salt to my right syde did

remoue; butt nowe it was frute lese, & douting it maye be a groweing distemper one me makes bould to aquaint you att large aboutt it, requesting you to giue me your aduise about it, and to send me what you judge may be best to preuent its groweing one me. I have sent this Indyan barer one purpos. Sir, I longe to here whether you sonn is it returned from Yorke, and whatt good corispandance hath bin by waye of Conferenc between that Gouerment & Coneticott. Sume of those gentel was att my house; who speake hounorabally of your selufe and did maney times remember you altho unknowne. Here is nothing of newes, the winter hath bin such an imbargo. I hope in the Springe you will order ouer stedy and absaloutt setellment under your Gouerment. Sume here are which are aponants to Coneticott, the chife are Thomas Gould, James Ronalds, Jeriah Bull, Samuell Willson & John Swete. If these were made conformabell the rest were plyent enough. As acasion presents [torn] exaseys athorative under you which now it hath refused to abaye, butt ame much threatned by the Gouerment of Rhode Island what they will doe; onley my comford is also good confydence in what yowr Gouerment will also doe, which can esaley countermand theyer doeings if you please. Sir, I have a kindsman thatt aboutt two yeares since wase taken with a payne in his right syde, and often times it trouballs him much and the payne will rune upwards when he brethes hard. Whether it be the splene wee knowe not, he hath it often times latly, therfor douts its groweing one him; he is a yonge man, not much aboue [torn] yeers. If you please to send him sumthing it shall much oblig [torn] and me. Sir, I would, request your fauor to store us with sume of your Rubila pouder, having none left to speke of, not aboue two porscions. I sopose you have herd of Mr Oxenbrige his death, who dyed sudenly; allso Mr Robertt Gibes catched a fall as he wase gooeing, the time beinge sliprey, hurtt his syde of which he dyed. I haue nott elce butt my thainkfull acknowlidgments for all your louing fauors, subscribe my selufe

Your humbell seruent RICHD SMITH.

Wickford, this 12 daye of febuary: 1674.

My seruis presented to all the Hounored gentellmen with you. My wiufe hath sent you a small token, namly, 7 cheses & two turkys, which shee requests you^r good axceptanc of, altho butt smalle. I left with M^r William Coudy when att Newe London one ferking of whitt shuger for you, butt whether come to you or nott is doutfull by reson of the winter. You^r euer to be commanded

R S:

Richard Smith, Jr to Edward Palmes¹

XXXI

[Address badly torn]

TAIOR PALLMES & WORDY SIR: after the presentacion of my dewe respets to your selufe and Mistris Palmes, with thainkfull returnes for your kindnes when with you, this is only to aquaint you thatt the barers hereof haue by Plymouth Gouerment bin permited to pase thorowe theyr precinks, having a parse which Rhode Iland Gourment hath sene, and giuen them also a permitt and money to trauall, they nowe being bound for N: Yorke. This is to request your fauorabell aspect twowards them to permitt them to gooe alongst shore, sume of them dweling in Yorke and gooeing home. They saye the Einglish haue alalongst sciuely treted ym & all Rhode Jsland hath to my knowlidg bin uery charatabell twowards them. Sir, here is no newes, only 2 dayes since ariued att Rhoad Jsland a kaitch from Uirginia, who bring newes they speak with a Londonor without the Capes which informed them greatt licklywod of peace with Holond & questione not butt ere this confermed. My seruis to Major Wintrop when returned to you, to Mr Bradstrett & lady, remayne yor humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 2d Aprell 1674.

daughter Lucy.

Indorsed by J. W. Jr: Mr Rich. Smith to Mr Palmes about ye Dutchmen passing &c.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XXXII

for the Much Hounored John Wintrop Esqu^r Gou^ro: of Coneticott this humbly p^rsent att Harford:

you^r. I cannott omitt butt to render you humbell thainkes for all you^r greate fauors, and giue you an aco: concerning my wiufs in sume mesewer recouerey: who is much recouered throughe the bleseing of God and you^r goodnes by menes you have plentifully suployed her with. Shee can now use her hands farr beter then formorly & gets more strainth daley. Shee useth acording to you^r aduise all things sent, and findes much benifitt by aploying playstars of you^r blaicke saluf to the baickes of her hands, finding thatt to strainthen them much; & Mistris Palmes hath promised ^I Major Edward Palmes of New London married for his first wife John Winthrop, Jr.'s

me nowe to send her a suploye of it sudenly. We have noe late newes from Urope, onley we understand thatt the Gou^r for Yorke was come outt, and I wonder he is nott it ariued, the ariuall of whome is expected daley. As relating to ouer setellment att Naragansett, we are and shall be obstructed still by the Gouerment of Rhode Island and those adhering to them amongst us, except you^r Gouerment take sume spedy coursee to make those inhaibatanc conformabell by feching them of, one which they will submitt I doult nott. Rhode Island: gentellmen intends to kepe Courtt att Naragansett the next insewing Mondaye and maye doe whatt they please for all us, we having nott strainth to apose them att present. I hope you^r hounored selufe with the rest of the hounored gentellmen will consider what may be best for us and cause a suden setellment & end of our troubells—To whome my humbell seruis is presented: remayne yo^r obleged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Newe London Mondaye the 2i septmbr, 1674.

If my ocacions were nott more then ordnarry, would have waighted one you att Harford next Courtt, but canott; doe humbly bige you^r pardon.

Indorsed: Mr Rich. Smith. rec: Sept: 27:

Richard Smith Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XXXIII

For Major John Winthrop Esqr att Newe London dd.

for all you kind loue to me extended. We had the remembrenc of your hounored father with your selufe maney times in good wine, which the Uropian gentry begane uerey often bothe here and att Rhode Jsland, maney of whome presente theyer respets & seruis to you, as namly, Squr Windor & lady, Capt Cortred & ladey, the Capt of the frigott with the Gouenor of Albony, namly Captt Crockore, an hounist stout gentellman, unknowne to you & most of the rest. It fales so outt that I cannot posobaly gooe to Yorke, otherwayes would waight upon you. If you gooe, present my seruis to theyer Hounored Gour & those aboue expressed. I haue sent to Rhode Island for thatt b[illegible]; its not it come, butt shall send it to you by the first opertunity. If you gooe to Harford present my humbell seruis to the Gour & to your sister., with Madam Palmes: haue not elce butt that I ame your

Wickford 21 novmb 1674.

RICHD SMITH.

My seruis to the rest of the gentlemen att Harford.

XXXIV

For Major John Winthrop esqu^r att Newe London psent.

Leue this with M^r James Fitch att Norwige for conuayenc as aboue derected.

TOBELL MAJOR, The hardnes of the winter hath stoped all pasige of I traualars thatt I have nott it herd of your returen from Yorke, which if you are, I doe hartaly congratulate and deseyer you to beleue thatt I owe you my best resptes & seruis. My seruis unto Madam Palmes. This I send by an indjan that is gooeing to Coneticott, to be left att Norwige. Sir, I longe to here whatt good corispondanc by waye of Conforanc hath bin betwene you & the newe Gouerment att Yorke, or whatt inteligenc there is as to Comishionors coming ouer next Springe; or aney newes would be welcom unto me, excepting such as maye not stand with your intrest. Here is no newes here, onley I here Mr Oxenbridg & Mr Robertt Gibes is ded att Boston. I should be exceding joyous to see you att my howse which I still hope for because of your promise. I have writt agayne latly to Boston to them concerned with us to come up and make a deuicion of ouer lands. One certanty of theyer coming will give you notis. I hope also that Coneticott will setell gouerment here this springe efectually, or elce we shall be hartlese, especally my selufe, having bin threatned much by Rhode Jslan what they will doe. My seruis to Mr Bradestreatt & his lady. I have not elce butt my wiufs seruis to you, who longs for a sight of you & maye miscarey for ought I knowe ere you come, I subscribe my selufe your obleged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 12th daye of febuerey 1674/5.

I intend for Eingland this Springe, butt hope to see you first.

XXXV

For his Much Hounored frend Major John Winthrope Esqu^r att Newe London p^rsent.

MINTHROP: Hauing this opertunity could doe noe lese butt saleutt you with the remembrance of my seruis & returne of thainkfull acknowlidgments for all your loue & fauor. I had thought to haue putt in att N[torn] to haue given you the trouball of a uisit, butt was crosed by reson of a fayer wind. Ouer uesall being full of lumbar we went derectt for Rhode Island; it we had sume good fraight one bord, namly

Mistris Syluster & her daufter Mistrs Grisell, & negro Symoney to atend them, whome we saufly landed att Rhode island. When att Shellter island, by sume discoursce I herd, I perceued your company theare hath bin longe expected, and your abstance as much admired, for what causee I inquyred nott; it this I knowe, its saufer exposcing your selufe to trauell one drye land then ouer such water gapes as those, where the tyde runs so swift. I should be uerey joyfull to see you att my howse, wheere noe gentellman should be more welcome, & if you then had a mind for deuercion sake to gooe ouer to Rhode Jsland I will waight upon you. Sir, here is noe newes, only I had the hapynes to receue a leter from Major Pallmes, who goott Saufe to Barbados, as also one from Mr Coundy from New [illegible], boath carryeng all in saufty, an aco of which I question not but you hau alredy. If nott, pray informin Mistris Parker with it. My humbell seruis presented when you can to all your hounored relacions att Harford, with my wiufs, & to your deare selufe. I have not elce att present butt request your pardon for ought I have fayled in as twoward your deare seluf, remayne

you^r Humbell feruent Richd Smith.

Wickford 15th
Aprell 1675.

Sir, J thainke you for you^r loue & kind treatement to my sonn, namly [?]ette. I hope he demened himselufe well. Remember me to M^r Christophers and his wiufe. Praye tell her I will rather paye her [torn] for the muten my sonn stolle then he should come to open disgrasce.

Excello fren

R. S.

My seruis to Mr Bradstreatt & Lady.

XXXVI

For his much hounored frend Major John Winthrope Esqu^r att Newe London p^rsent

Najor, Sir, yours received of 23d of Aprell last past, and ame no lese thainkfull for your greatt fauer in your letter expressed & good afecion twowards me, which is your goodnes butt nott my deserts. Sir, thus it is, thatt I cannott posabaly waight upon you to Harford, my acacione being so to settell my buisnes before I gooe for Eingland, which I hope will be sumetime in June next. Lett me craue your exceuses; if I live to returen, will then devote my selufe wholly to be what I nowe ame, Deare Sir, yours. Your comands as to Mist Sylvester & Mistres Grezell and

others, are performed. Lett me requst the fauor of you to present my most humbell seruis to the much hounored Gou^r & the rest of the hounored Gentellmen att Hartford, and exceuse my not coming att this time, the cause aboue hindring it. I hope they will nott butt be mindfull to cause a setelment in Wickford, ether before I gooe, or in my abstanc. The refering it will make the well afected inhabitanc hartlese. I haue twise writen to them att Boston to come up and deuide lands here, butt can haue noe answere, they being remise. If they will nott, we the rest maye, being the major parte. Hau not elce butt beige you^r pardon & exceuse, butt hopes to see you before I gooe; remayne you^r most obleged and humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

My seruis to Madam Palmes & you^r other sisters, with my wiufs to you^r selufe & them

Wickford 3d maye 1675.

[Postscript?] Nobell Sir, thus it is, maney pepoll a boutt Stonington are in debt to M^r Brinly & my selufe one acount. We have no time to reson with them & take specaltys of them, which if not done ue by Coneticott Lawe may lose ouer debts, it stinting all to such a time. If you could gett thatt fauor for me one this acacion, an order thatt it might not cause me to lose my just debt, the defect lying in them not paying it, it shall much oblege him who it is, & allwayes will be,

your most humbell serunt RICHD SMITH.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XXXVII

Much hounored Sir, My Humbell seruis presented to you, with maney returens of thainkes for your maney greate fauors. Sir, I make bould to aquaint you thatt I intend about one month hence for Eingland; should be glad if I ware capaball to serue you in aneything, which if you laye your comemands one me, shall indeuer to doe to the utmost of my power, being neuer abell to recompence your greate & maney fauors. My wiufe presents her humbell seruis to you, & myne with hers to Captt Waight, Madam Pallmes & your other daughters. Shee hath bin and is troubled much with a greate tingling & numednes in one of her thyes, butt fare beter in her hands & freer from paynes elce where then formarly, she still using your things as derected. My selufe hath nott

bine troubled with grauall since your phisike clered me of payne last winter. Here is no newes, onley whatt Majr Wintrop hath here inclosed for your peruse, which was sent him from the Deuch Mayor of N: Yorke. Seuerall ships are ariued att Boston from Eingland, France & other ports. I haue no perticulars of newes by them butt whatt is here inclosed. My seruis to: the hounored gentellmen with you; haue nott elce butt thatt I ame your obleged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Newe London 4th daye of June 1675

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec. June 9.

[Extract mentioned in preceding letter. It is in the handwriting of Fitz-John Winthrop.]

May iith 1675:

Wee had ye 9th instant two ships arrived from England, ye one from London, ye other from Amsterdam, but clered in England, who brings newes that all things at home are in a quiet & serene posture: the Parliamt sits, I hope to see a good understanding & kinde agrement with his Matie. There is speach of a treaty betwixt France & Holland, wherein his Matie is to be Umpire My Lord Clarenden is dead; the Dutches of York is brought to bed of a daughter; Collonell Louelace is in the Tower, what his portion is God knowes. Our Gour is gon to Delaware with Mr Mayor & 40 attendants to settle affares there.

Richard Smith, Jr to Fitz-John Winthrop

XXXVIII

for Major Winthrop att N London-dd

Note In Maj^R Wintrop: much thainks returned for you^r kindnes, with the representacion of my seruis. I forgott my rapyer att you^r howse behynd me; if aney one comes thatt will bring it, pray send it, and it shall oblege me who ame you^r humbell seruant

RICHD SMITH.

from m^r Stantons 7 June 1675.

Richard Smith, Jr to John Winthrop, Jr

XXXIX

These for the Hounabl John Winthrop Esqur Govr of Coneticott.

UCH HOUNOURED: This post just nowe coming have not time, because not willing to delarmate in the second of the sec L because nott willing to delayue him, to informe you att large, butt brieufly: Phillip is fled, and his woman and children came along aboue Prouidenc. The Prouidenc men and Secunk men with the Mohigan indyans kiled 14 of them; they fled and are goone as its suposed up to Quopage. The Naragansets hath bin outt 300 of them, brought me in seuen heds of the Eniemy, also is nowe come home, and with them att lest 100 men women and children of Wettamores, the Pacusett Sachim squo and her with them. She is kind to Sucquauch & he deseyers all fauor for her thatt can be. No Einglish hath it intilligenc of it butt my selufe, two ouers sinc she & her men hath bin in aicion agaynst the Einglish. I shall give notis of it as sone as can to Boston Gouro also, only ame willing to here first from you. Many straigling Indyans are abrode for mischif, sume Nip Nap indyans joynd with Philip, sume indyans in Plymouth Patan are come in to the Einglish, aboutt 120 in all as I here. Myne with my wiufs humbell seruis to you and all your presented, with all the hounored gentellmen with yow. In greatt hast subscrib my selufe your most obleged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 5th Agost 1675.

Indorsed: Mr Richard Smith. rec. Aug. 8:

XL

for the hounoraball John Winthrope esqu^r Gou^r of Coneticott These humbly present in Boston.

Much Hounored Sir, my seruis in humbell maner with my wiufs also to you and you^r all with you. Understanding by those went by with you^r horsis, thatt you^r hounor was goone by water to Boston, cane doe noe lese then present you with the tender of ouer seruises, and aquaint you thatt we are in jelasey whether the Naragansets will it proue loyall to the Einglish; it they pretend fayer and hath latly brought in to me seuen of the eneymies heeds:, they being surprised by the Nipnaps first and deliured up to the Naragansett Sachem Conanicos. Here are uery maney indland Indyans latly come in hither, and sume of the enamey amongst them, which they, I judge, will not deliuer. I beleue y^t Conani-

cos of him selufe & sume others inclynes to pease rather then warr, butt haue many unruly men which cares not what becoms of them. These indyans hath killed seuerall catell uery latly. I refer you to Gou^T Leueretts leter herwith sent, to be informed what hath bin discoured or aicted in answar to his leter sent to Conanicos. I would willingly knowe the certainty of you^T gooeing for Eingland becauce would waite one you thither. It will be good to be moderate as respeting the Noragansets att present I humbly conceue, for thatt a great body of pepol of them are here gathered twogether, may doe much mischif, and it if not brought into beter decorum, here will be noe liuing for Einglish. All imaginabel thainks for all you^T fauors, remayne you^T most humbel seruent.

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 3d daye of Septm 1675.

My wiufe is in a mourning pestuer sinc shee hard of your gooeing for Eingland, it being yester daye.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec: Sept: 4:

XLI

For the hounoraball John Winthrope Esqu^r Gou^ro of Coneticott Colloney this Humbly p^rsent in Boston.

MUCH HOUNOURED: my dewe seruis to you & to you ronn and daufters. I writt to you not longe sinc, & understood by the post you were nott well, since which we longe to here of you, & my wiufe is more then ordnary troubled because she heres you intend for Eingland, shee fering the uoyge to be to hard for you to under gooe, by rescon of age & weaknes. I intend thether & should be glad to waight one you in the same shipe. Nothing hinders me, butt would fayne see all apearenc of ware ouer. As to the Naragansets, here are maney inland Indyans come hither, as they pretend, to shelter themselufe for feare of the Einglish sowders. The Naragansets still reguest fauor for Wittamore and her company, & the Seconett Squo & hers. Here is also seuerall of Phillips company come in & brought in by those, which these doe osbceuer all they can, and will not confese howe maney. It Cononocous hath broght in to me in all 14 heds, seuen of which was latly, & sume of them Phillips chefe men. These being a greate numbr it will be good to be moderate with them as it; for should we have war with them they would doe greate damage. Ninicroft sent in also two heds longe sinc. I have writt att large to Gou^T Leuretts hounor, which I refer you two, being herewith sent. I should be glad if I could be aictiufe in aney respectt wherby I might promotte aney thing thatt

would tend to the peasce & wellfare of the Cuntrey; it latly I am informed att seccond hand from Capt Syluister, thatt it was reported att Hartford that I had sowld the Indgens a barall of powdere. It was a greate untrueth, for I deneyed all Indyans selling them aney att all, and the more for thatt I sawe them greedy for it, & that long before the ware begune with Philip, so thatt whosoeuer was the raysar of that report did much abuse me; besyds I haue had butt one barell of powder in my custody this yeare, most of which have yet by me. Hounoured Sir, I request the fauor from you to wright me a lyne or two of the certanty of your gooeing for Eingland & the time. My seruis to Mr Willis & Mr Richards. I would request your aduisce as relating to a farmen I bought of Captt Atherton; he having Administracion from Coneticott, presenting noe sequeraty to the Courtt, this farmen was tyed for sequerety. The farmen I bought the rest of the brothers ratyfieth the salle of it, receues part of the money, Capt Atherton demands the resudewe. I refewse to paye aney more ether to him or them except the Courtt orders it to whome, and then the land be released, for bothe partys would have it and the land still injaged. The mony lyes redy, but nether will yeald the other shall haue it. Sir, be pleased both your Hounor with Mr Willis & Mr Richards to send me your aduise under your hands what to doe. I ame not willing to paye mony twise, nor can I make them agree. Sir, haue not elce, butt bige your exceusce and craue your fauor, ame your hounors most obelged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 12 Septm 1675.

The Naragansett sachems deseyers theyer hosteges may returen, they having they say aproved themselufs loyall by bringing in of heads.

Indorsed: Mr Rich: Smith. rec: Sept: 17.

XLII

For the honable John Winthrop Esqur. Gouro of Coneticott Collony: this humbly present in Boston with spede.

More I have had oftentimes discourcd with the Sachems in reference to the delivering up the Wampanooges, who saith they are foreward and willing to doe it, but saye it is nott feazaball for them to doe att present, many of them being out a hunting, and theyer owne men being not so subbordinate to theyer comands in respete of afiniaty, being alyes to them, so that if by force they gooe about to seeze them, many will escape. Two

of waybacke indyans were here amongst these one horsebaicke latly, and last night came two more of those indyans to Cononocos, to bring inteligenc that theyer frends all the Prayinge indyans were seazed first & then kiled by Boston men, only they escaped, & that you intended a warr with the Naragansets sudenly. Quononshott requests your fauor as to grant him liberty that his brother and his relacions may have liberty to come from Harford to Naragansett and staye here with him this winter, he being nowe with the rest, as he sayth, confined to Harford towne. He uerey much requests your fauor herein, and that you would write to the gentellmen there to permit it, and send it hither and he will send it awaye, and with it requests you to send your certifacate that those he sends may pase unmolested. Ninicroft will deliuer up his captiufs, only I aduised him to kepe them att present, that so these others may not startt.

The inhabitanc here are many goone and most remouing for feare of dainger. The report comon amongst indyans and Einglish is att present of an armey coming up. I request your fauor to give me timly notis if aney expadicion be hitherward; otherways ouer lines are in the hands of ouer Enemyes & surprised before we are aware; it I ame confident those att present deseyers not a ware and uery fearfull at the newes, & if such a thing were intended to haue it publicke were disaduantagious. If your hounor pleasce to aquaint the Gour hounor of Masatusett & the gentellmen with what I writt to you, to whome my humbell seruis presented, intends not to moue, butt first to have certayne inteligenc from you and them, which I request your hounors fauor to expidate. My seruis to your

sonne & daufters & my wiufs to you and them: remayne

your humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford 27th daye of octob 1675.

These Sacham longs to here whether those proposalls by them made I have your honnors notis of, in the leter sent by Mr More, be aney waye exceptaball. I also longe to here what your hounors forther plesewer is. Your humbly RICHD. SMITH. 28th octob 1675.

XLVI

[Richard Smith, Jr. to Fitz-John Winthrop]

PEARE SIR, MAJOR WINTHROPE. your first recd, and second leter I received by Doctor Lacke & give you harty thainks for al kind expressions therin beyand my merits, & next will study howe I may also be servisaball to you. For begining of which, here is a tenent presente would rent your farmen one Boston Necke at sixe or £7 pr anam, & bulde & fence at his owne cost & charge, for his owne convenency untell sevene yeares be expired, by which time it will be worth more rent. I have promised to hm he shall have it, except you see cause otherways. Pray wright your mind to me about it sudenly, that I may aict acordingly for you, the soner you doe the beter. He is a lickly tenent, hath an estate and is industrowes. Here is noe newes as it here arived. Mr Randolph is come, butt what perticklar newes knowe not. My servis & wives to your kind selufe, & respets & love to all your frends, remayne your afecionate frend & humbell servent

RICHD SMITH.

Wickford, Narragansett this 8th jan 1681/2.

XLVII

For Major John Winthrope att his how se in Newe London These ddl.

Major Winthrope: My best respets saleutt you. The indyan you bought of Cosasinaman nowe here & requests you to give him so much liberty untell catching of Springe fish be ouer, he being it in debt for his Squaes redeucion, & as sone as that is done he doe promise to come without fayle to you; this he deseyred me to wright to you for him & I beleue he will not fayle butt come. Sir, I haue lett outt you land in Boston Necke oute mora to one of Blocke Island, for tene yeares att eight pounds pr anam, haue drawne artickles betweene us of the contraictt. I hope this will not fayle. There is one this daye goone twowards Newe London, is gone awaye in my debte 6s/3d. He pretended he coptt you Will att Newe London & gooes by the name of Wode. His debt is for a brode aixe, if you could light on him & make him paye the money or refund the aixe, you would doe me a fauor. My wiuse presents her serues to you & so doe I, & to all ouer frends with you. Here is no newes. Lett me request you to send those inclosed to Harford as dorected, by the first opertunity. Nott elce butt ame your obleged seruent

RICHD SMITH.

M^r Arnold will not sell his boate nor could I find aney one there fitt for you^r turen to be sould. Robert Hasard hath almost promised me he will buld on for you.

Naragansett 13th of Aprell 1682.

XLVIII

For his hounored frend Major John Winthrope att Newe London present.

AJOR WINTHROP: My seruis with my wiufs presented to you. Sir, I make bould with you relating to Mr Walkers disastuer, who I here hath mett with a great disaster and rune his slope on shore one Fishers Island. My request to you is to doe him what kindnes you can in leting your pepoll asist him, he being my uerey good frend, & Mr Brinly & my selufe haue, J judge, sume goods one bord of him, sent for sale by him, namly, 6 ps° of nayals, canuas marked with a bunch of grapes N° 49:51: 69:70:71:78, & 3 doz of sithes, about which we request a perticklar care to lett your pepoll drye it & it shall oblege us. What elce may be one bord know not. I question not Mr Walkers care aboutt it, but he having such troubell & lost upon him may not so well mind it.

M^r Brinly presents his seruis to you; here is nothing of newes. My respets & kind loue to M^r Walker, ame you^r obleged & humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

Nar. 8th Maye 1682

XLIX

For Major John Winthrope att his howse in Newe London dd.

AJOR WINTHROP: My seruic & best respects to you. Sir, we have agreed with a ship carpendar to buyld you a slope, if you deseyer it. The plaink is saweing, butt no demenchions agreed one; pray send your certayne mind aboutt it & howe shee shall be bulte & what demenchions, howe bige & what formen. Doe it as spedaly as you can; one halufe must be money, the other goods att money prise. If you licke of it he shall procede, otherwse not; have not elce butt ame your humbell seruent

RICHP SMITH.

Wickford in Naragansett 12th of Maye 1682.

My wiufs feruis to you.

L

for his Hounored frend Major John Winthrop at his howse in Newe London ddl.

Wickford 23 of maye 1682.

For all your kind fauors. Your by Roben Sinomen recd. Fower dayes since I sawe your indyan, who intends to come to you & his wiufe, as he sayth, this wecke. I looke for him ouer here euerey daye, in order to his gooeing to you & haue promifed him to write to you by him in fauor to him. I shall be glad to see you here & from hense shall waigt one you where you please. Here is noe newes. Your man Faning was in joyle att Neuport for setling one lands contrary to order. I holpe him outt by speking for him, he being your fathers ould seruent, butt since I understand by his discource he wants that dewe respete for you he ought to haue, for he striued to procese seuerall pepoll thatt the indyan was not your seruent, & unjustly bought & sould, which made me aingry with him. Sir, haue not elce butt my best respets & seruis to Maior Palmes & Lady, Mr Bradstrett & Lady & all your frends, ame your humbell seruent

RICHD SMITH.

LI

For Major John Winthrop Esqu^r Att New London dd^r

House Sir: dewe respets & seruis from me & myne to you & your, in hops this will find you in good health as we are. Yor frinds at Boston was well last wecke uisaball to me, only Mr Whorton is gone Estward. Mr Stoder ariued from London, 13 wecks pasage, brings no newes, only a nocion of the Deuck of Grafton coming Govr for N: E:. Rhode Island Gouerment is nowe resolued to maynetayne Pattan right here & hath latly distrayned mens goods for a rate asest by theyer Generall Asemly. For grone & howlding I ame highly thretned to be consyned to theyre joyle, where I may be spoken with att aney time. These doge days makes men mad, I thinke, but I hope violent distempers will not hould longe. Ether mend or kill. Mr Redfords token & leter is herewith sent, which he was pleased to hounor me with as barer hither & haue nowe betrusted a Prince with it, namly Memoko, who hath promised great care aboutt it. My wiufe presents her humbell seruis to you & yor frends & so doth him who will ever owne himselufe yor obleged frend & seruent

RICHD SMITH.

My respets to Major Palms & his lady & children.

Wickford 15th July 1684.







